

AN INTRODUCTION  
TO  
COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY

BY  
PANDURANG DAMODAR GUNE,

M. A. (Bombay), Ph. D. (Leipzig),  
PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, FERGUSSON COLLEGE,  
POONA

THE LIBRARY  
OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

1918.

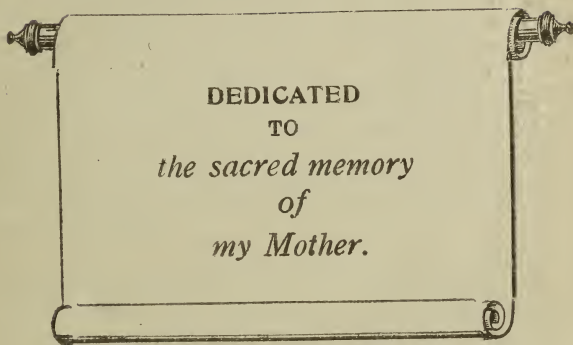
Printed at the Arya Bhushan Press, Poona  
by Anant Vinayak Patwardhan,

&

Published at The Oriental Book-supplying Agency,  
13 Shukrawar, Poona by Dr. N. G. Sardesai.

410  
G95i

REMOTE STORAGE



795221





## FOREWORD.



This little book is the outcome of a course of post-graduate lectures that I delivered in 1916-17 at the Bombay University. In its attempt at organising the teaching side, the Senate had instituted a course of post-graduate lectures in Indian Classical Languages, Philosophy, Indian History and Economics. I was invited to deliver twenty-four lectures on Comparative Philology and the Nirukta. The eighteen lectures which I devoted to the former subject form the basis of the present volume. I had to rearrange and partly rewrite the whole thing in order to suit the book form.

I believe I need offer no apology for writing this book. The University has introduced Philology amongst the subjects to be studied by candidates for the M. A. who offered languages. There are already some excellent introductions to Comparative Philology, but unfortunately they are not available to our students as they are written in the French, German and Russian languages. Secondly they are of a general character and, as a rule, written with reference to the European classical and modern languages. Giles' Manual of Comparative Philology is the only useful book in English, but it has reference to the Teutonic and Classical languages. A book, therefore, which combined principles of the Science of Language with practical illustrations from the Indian branch of the Indo-Germanic family was wanted; and I have tried to supply the need.

I have divided the book into five parts. The first part deals at some length with the principles of the Science. In this I have drawn the illustrations from the Indian languages along with others. The second part is a small one, but it was necessary in order to show the relationship between the European and the Indian Aryan languages. I have called it 'Families of Languages.' The third part treats of the Avesta and ancient Sanskrit and is intended to present a comparative picture of the two old languages. The fourth part deals with the next stage in the development of Indian languages and is called 'Pāli and the Inscriptional Prākṛits'. The last part bears the title 'the literary Prākṛits and the modern Vernaculars'. The latter portion of this part has been necessarily brief and at some places suggestive only, as most of the modern vernaculars lack well written historical grammars. A detailed and scientific comparison of these will be possible only after such grammars become available. However valuable in other respects, I must say that the 'Linguistic Survey' cannot form the basis of comparison, because it is necessarily of a sketchy character and deals with specimens of the vernaculars in their latest phase only.

For convenience of printing, I have followed the Greek method in marking accent of Sanskrit words, and marked *udātta* only.

I have acknowledged the help of my literary predecessors in the list of books consulted. The deepest debt of gratitude that I owe is to Professors Brugmann and Windisch of the Leipzig University, who initiated me into Comparative Philology and Pāli Inscriptology respectively.

Before closing, I must thank my colleagues Prof. K. N. Dravid and Mr. N. B. Utgikar M. A., for having

kindly gone through part of the proofs, and Professors G. C. Bhate and G. H. Kelkar for having gone through the whole for correction of such mistakes as might have still remained. The credit of the index at the end is entirely due to my friend Mr. Utgikar. Lastly I must express my obligation to the Manager of the Aryabhushan Press, for having struck new types for some Greek, Gothic, and Avesta words, and generally deferring to my convenience and time. To Dr. Sardesai of the Oriental Book-supplying Agency is due the entire credit of the publication of the book itself, for had he not undertaken to do so, my wish to publish the book would have remained a wish only.

FERGUSSON COLLEGE }  
*Poona, July 1918.* }

P. D. GUNE.



Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2016

# CONTENTS.



## PART I.

### Principles.

PAGE.

1-82

Name of the Science 1. Aim and Object 1. What is language 3. Physical and Psychical aspect of speech 4. Outer speech 5. Stress or accent 7. Inner speech 7. Language an acquisition 9. Origin of language 10. Language is not an organic growth 14. Constant change in language 14. Dialects 15. Examples from Indian dialects 19. Dialects point to a common mother-language 20. Practical illustration of linguistic change from the Dnyāneśwari 21. Explanation of words and forms like संवसार, जाणें, थावला, वेरां रुखां etc. 22-30. The cause of change 31. Physiological and acoustic causes of change 32. What is phonetic law 34. Grimm's law or sound-shifting 36. Second sound-shifting 37. Vener's law 38. Unconditional phonetic change 39. Conditional phonetic change 43. Greek consonants at the end of a word 43. Change dependent upon accent 44. Ablaut 44. संप्रसारण 46. The गुण and वृद्धि phenomena 47. Phonetic change due to the influence of another syllable 48. Assimilation 48. Regressive assimilation 49. Dissimilation 50. Prothesis 51. Anaptyxis 51. Syncope 52. Haplology 52. Metathesis 52. Change conditioned by rhythm and quantity 53. Phonetic laws not absolute like natural laws 53. Recapitulation—causes of phonetic change 53. Importance of association 57. Analogical disturbance in inflection and conjugation 60. Contamination 60. Semantics 63. Intellectual laws of language 64. Examples of disappearing words 67. Pejorative tendency 69. Associative disturbance in meaning 69. Metaphor 70. Expansion and restriction of meaning 70-71. Syntax 73. Gradual formation of syntax 74. The parts of speech, how they developed 75. Conjunction 76. Pronouns 77. Article, copula, neuter and transitive verbs 78. Prepositions and cases 79. Causes of fusion of cases 80.

## PART II.

	PAGE
Families of Languages ... ..	83-115
Language groups 83. The agglutinative languages 83. The agglutinative—inflectional languages 84. Root or isolating languages 85. The inflectional languages 85. Difference between purely inflectional and agglutinative—inflectional languages 86. Some Dravidian tables 88. The Indo-Germanic family 89. Characteristics of the principal groups 93. Some of the characteristics of the Aryan group 93. The Armenian language 93. Greek language and the Italian language 93. The Germanic languages 93. The Balto-Slavonic group 94. The Keltic languages 94. The Albanian language 94. The Tokharian language 94. Interrelations between the groups 95. Indo-Balto-Slavonic and Graeco-Italo-Celtic groups 97. Individual isolated resemblances do not warrant closer grouping 99. Tokharian, a centum language 99. The course of migration of the speakers of different groups 100. The original home of all 102. Civilization as disclosed by comparison of languages 103-104. Characteristics of the stone age 104. Metal age 104. Domestic and communal life 106. Habitation 108. Drink 109. Trade and industry 110. Divisions of time 111. The family 112. Tribes and people 114. Blood revenge 114. Religion 115.	

## PART III.

The Indo-Iranian or Aryan Group ... ..	... 116-159
I. Aryan Group 116. Avesta, Pahlavi, Persian 117-18. Close relation between Avesta and Sanskrit 118. The Phonology 119. Changes in quality and quantity 120. Epenthesis, Prothesis, Anaptyxis 121-122. Avestan consonantal system not as rich as Sanskrit system 122-123. Inflections 124. <i>Yasna</i> and <i>daēna</i> declined 125. Adjectives, numerals and pronouns 126. Conjugation 127. Imperative, subjunctive, optative 128. Aorist and future 129.	
II. Vedic Sanskrit 130. Some characteristics 131-132. Vedic prose 133. Vedic and classical Sanskrit 134. Wackernagel's explanation of simplification and losses observed in Cl. Sanskrit 135. Classical Sanskrit not created by grammarians but a literary development 136. Phonology of	



Vedic Sanskrit 137. Vowels 137-38. The quantity of vowels 140. Gradation or Ablaut 140. Quantitative ablaut 141. Consonants 143. The Indo-Germanic palatals 144. Dental and labial series 145. Cerebrals 146. Fortunatov's law 146. Rejected by Wackernagel and others 147. Prākṛit origin of cerebrals 147. Dentals cerebralized in Prākṛits 148. Oldest phase of the Pāli and Prākṛits side by side with the Vedic language 148. Inflection 149. Some paradigms 151. Conjugation 153. Comparative tables 154. Conjugation of some verbs 155. Origin of the aorist suffix 156. The future system 157. The distinction between temporal and modal stems 157. Secondary conjugation 159.

PART IV.

Pāli and the Inscriptional Prākṛits ... 160-189

I. Character of the Pāli 160. Causes of phonetic change shown by Pāli 161. Illustration from Gajakumbha Jātaka 163. The inflectional resemblances between Pāli and Sanskrit 164. Phonology of the Pāli 165. Changes of vowels law of quantity 166-67. Vowels dropped without compensation 168. Consonants, change in consonants 168. Conjuncts simplified, assimilated or dissolved 168. Inflection 169. Paradigms 170. The declension of ङ and ञ bases 161. Conjugation 172. Moods 173. Personal terminations and some paradigms 172-74. The subjunctive and optative terminations 174. The imperfect and aorist 175. Causatives, desideratives, and denominatives 175. Examples 176. Origin of the Pāli language 177. Views of Kuhn Franke and Windisch 178.

II. Inscriptional Prākṛits 178-79. First edict at Girnar, Jaugada & Mansehra 180-81. Inscriptions show more than two dialects 182. Differences between Girnar and Shāhbāzgarhī 183. Phonology, change in quantity and quality, anaptyxis, syncope 185. Changes in consonants 186. Inflection 186-87. Conjugation 188. Sanskritisms in Pāli 189.

PART V.

The Literary Prākṛits and the Vernaculars ... 190-252

I. Prākṛits 190. The name and genesis 190. Apabhraṃṣa

193. Home of the Prākritis and the Paiśācī 194. Division of the Grammarians as against Hoernle's two-fold classification 195. Phonology of the Prākritis 196. Vowels 196. Changes in quality 196. Changes in quantity 197. The consonants 199. Initial consonants 199. Medial consonants 200. Nasals, semi-vowels and sibilants 201. Consonants assimilated, simplified or split up 202-03. Samdhi consonants 204. Inflection 205 Declension 205. The terminations 206. Paradigms of declension 207-08. Stems in ऋ and some consonantal stems 209-10. Adjectives and pronouns 211-12. Numerals 213. Conjugation 214. Optative and imperative 215. Aorist and future 216. Passive and secondary conjugation 217-19. Deśī words 220. Period of the Prākritis 221-22.

II. The modern vernaculars 223. The principal Aryan vernaculars of the present day 223. Topography of the vernaculars, their dialects etc. 224-32. Eastern Hindī and Western Hindī two distinct groups 228. Affinities and proposed groups of vernaculars 232. Grierson's Outer Circle 233. Agreement of the Marāṭhī partly with the eastern and partly with the western group 234. Phonology of the modern vernaculars 235. Changes in vowels 235-36. Sound change due to accent 237. Consonantal changes 237. Reduction of aspirates to ह्रस्व 239. Inflection 240. Old terminations preserved partly 241. Explanation of new terminations 242. Genesis of genitive suffixes 244. Adjectives and pronouns 245. Conjugation 246. The old present preserved 246. Old imperative and future 247. The new present, how formed 248. The past tense is participial 248. Participles, gerund, infinitive 249. Causal, passive 250. Beginning of the vernaculars 250-52.

---



## BOOKS CONSULTED.

---

- K. Brugmann—Kurze Vergleichende Grammatik der Indo-Germanischen Sprachen, 1904.
- H. Paul—Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte, 1909.
- A. Meillet-Printz—Einführung in die Vergleichende Grammatik, 1909.
- V. Porzezinski—Einleitung in die Sprachwissenschaft, 1910.
- H. Oertel—Lectures on the Study of Language, 1909.
- Sweet—History of Language, 1901.
- Meringer—Indo-Germanische Sprachwissenschaft, 1903.
- W. Dwight Whitney—Language and its Study, 1880.
- „ „ Life and Growth of Language, 1885.
- O. Shrader—Die Indo-Germanen, 1911.
- A. Lefèvre—Race and Language, 1894.
- Bréal, Semantics, 1900.
- Caldwell—Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages 1913.
- Jackson—Avesta Grammar, 1892.
- P. Giles—A short Manual of Comparative Philology, 1901.
- Hermann Hirt—Handbuch der Griechischen Laut und Formenlehre, 1912.
- Wright—Primer of the Gothic Language, 1892.
- W. D. Whitney—Sanskrit Grammar, 1896 (1913).
- Jacob Wackernagel—Altindische Grammatik I & II, 1896 & 1905
- A. A. Macdonell—Vedic Grammar, 1910.
- A. Thumb—Handbuch des Sanskrit, 1905.
- O. Franke—Pāli und Sanskrit, 1902.
- Uhlenbeck—A Manual of Sanskrit Phonetics, 1898.
- E. Müller—Simplified Grammar of the Pāli language, 1884.
- Frankfurter—Handbook of Pāli, 1883.
- G. Bühler—Beiträge zur Erklärung der Aśoka-inschriften, 1909.
- E. Senart—Les Inscriptions de Piyadasī, translation by Grierson in the Indian Antiquary Vols. X to XVIII.
- Windisch—Über den Sprachlichen Character des Pāli, 1906.
- Fausböll—Jatakamālā Vols. I to VII.
- Takakusu—A Pāli Chrestomathi, 1900.
- Cowell—Vararuci's Prākṛita Prakāśa, 1868.
- R. Hoernle—Caṇḍa's Grammar, 1880.

- R. Pischel—Hemcandra's Grammar, 1877.  
 R. Pischel—and Bühler, The Deśināmamālā of Hemacandra, 1880.  
 R. Pischel—Grammatik der Prākṛit Sprachen, 1900.  
 H. Jacobi—Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu, 1879.  
 „ Ayārangasutta of the Svetāmbara Jains, 1882.  
 R. Hoernle—The Uvāsagadasāo, 1888.  
 Hāla—Sattasai, Kāvya-mālā Series, 1889.  
 Pandit—Gauḍavaho of Wākpatirāja, 1887.  
 Karpūramanjarī—Rājasēkhara, Harvard Oriental Series, 1901.  
 J. Beames—Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India, 1872-79.  
 R. Hoernle—Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages, 1880.  
 Bhandarkar—Wilson Philological lectures, 1914.  
 Krishna Shastri Chiplunkar—Essays on Marāṭhī Language, 1907.  
 Krishna Śāstri Godbole,—A New Marāṭhī Grammar.  
 Dāmle—Scientific Marāṭhī Grammar.  
 Rajwade—Grammar of the Dnyāneśwarī Śāke 1831.  
 Tāilor—Gujrāti Vyākaraṇa in Gujarātī.  
 Grierson—Seven Grammars of the Bihārī Language, 1883-87.  
 Dnyānadevī—Madgaonkar's edition, 1907.  
 Dnyāneśwarī—Rājawade's edition, Śāke 1831.  
 Tulsidasa—Rāmāyana edited by Y. S. Jamdar, 1913.  
 Grierson—Linguistic Survey of India, Vols. V i, & ii, VI, VII, IX i, ii & iii.  
 Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft for 1912.  
 Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I.  
 Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1875 and 1909.  
 Indian Antiquary Vol. X to XVIII.  
 Prabhāt—A Marathi Magazine, for Śāke 1828.

# AN INTRODUCTION TO COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY.

---

## PART I. PRINCIPLES.

1. **Name of the Science:**—Comparative Philology or simply Philology is the science of language. Philology strictly means the study of a language from the literary point of view. In Germany as elsewhere in Europe, Philology still means study of the literature of any people. Thus there are at every German University *Klassische Philologen* and *Romantische Philologen*, meaning Professors who have studied and are now teaching classical literature, Romance literature etc. But when this new science, one of the many new acquisitions bequeathed to us by the 19th century, came into being, it usurped for itself the name of Comparative Philology. Comparative Grammar is a name less inclusive than Comparative Philology, although perhaps less faulty. Science of language is a comprehensive and exact name for our science and some scholars prefer it to the more usual Comparative Philology.

2. **Aim and Object:**—Sanskrit, Persian, Greek, Latin, Celtic, Teutonic, Slavonic, Litho-lettish, Armenian and Albanian languages show a similarity in grammar and vocabulary. In the same way Hebrew, Assyrian, Arabic, Aethiopian, Syriac also appear to form a group by themselves,

having resemblances to one another, but not to any one of the former group. Certain African people speak languages which are very similar in grammar and vocabulary. Similarly our south Indian languages—Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese form a group by themselves.

These resemblances enable us to put forward several groups or families of languages, viz., the Indo-European or Indo-Germanic as it is more usually called, the Semitic, the Bantu and the Dravidian. Similarly it is possible to arrive at several other groups, *e. g.*, the Mongolian group, the Finnish group, the South American group.

Now the aim and object of Comparative Philology of a particular group of languages is to find out and explain the similarities that these languages show with one another.

The scope of the science of language is therefore as wide as the whole of humanity, as it deals with human speech itself. It has to do with the facts of a speech not only of a particular time; it has not only to collect, arrange, tabulate and regularise them; this latter is the province of descriptive grammar. The latter is, so to speak, the logic or philosophy of a language. It deals more with abstractions than with facts. But Comparative Philology has to do with facts of language in the past, as well as at present, to give its history by comparing those facts at various periods in its life. In fact it has to deal with the various phenomena of speech—the production of sounds, their combinations into syllables, the grouping of these into words and finally putting them into sentences. It also includes larger questions like that of the origin of language, the cause of its growth and change and the like. Its problem therefore is a dynamic problem; it has not only to recognise and point out that there is a constant change in language but also to try to find out the cause of that change.

Our science therefore is both historical and comparative, or rather, it is comparative because it is historical. The comparison of languages like the Sanskrit, Latin, Greek, is only the extension of the historical investigation of a single language through its different stages; just as when we trace the development of the Māhārāṣṭrī Prākṛit through old pre-Dnyaneshwar Marāṭhī into our modern Marāṭhī: for no language can be treated as if it were fixed and unchangeable but rather as a growth, whose different phases should be outlined in a connected series of successive periods. The very attempt of certain philologists to reconstruct a parent language is due to this historical treatment.

Our science strives, to quote Whitney,<sup>1</sup> "To comprehend language, both in its unity, as a means of human expression and as distinguished from brute communication, and in its internal variety, of material and structure. It seeks to discover the cause of the resemblances and differences of languages, and to effect a classification of them, by tracing out the lines of resemblance and drawing the limits of difference."

3. What is language:—But what precisely do we mean by language, when we speak of a science of language? If we mean, that it is the means to express in an intelligent manner our thoughts to others, then we give it a wider signification than is intended by linguists generally. For, our thoughts could be well conveyed to others by gestures and grimaces, or pictorial or written signs, or lastly, by articulate sounds. The first is used by mutes and even by others when they meet with persons speaking a language unintelligible to them. The second is most helpful,

---

1. Whitney, Life and Growth of Language p. 4.



yet subordinate to the third. The last is the legitimate and the most important means of expressing thought. While in gesture-language, the movements of face and the like are themselves symbols of thought, in spoken language, the results of such movements become symbols. Language<sup>1</sup> in its widest sense means, therefore, the sum-total of such signs of our thoughts and feelings as are capable of external perception and as could be produced and repeated at will.

4. **Physical and Psychical aspect of speech:**—The conception of language therefore is based, on the one hand, upon articulate sounds and on the other, upon our thoughts and feelings. Thus our speech has a physical and a psychical aspect. It would not do to regard language merely as a physical movement of speech-organs; but it should be remembered in addition that it is at the same time a psychical activity. For, when we say a word *mango* or *red*, it is not the mere act of the organs of speech. We have not merely produced certain sounds, but a certain psychical process has preceded our utterance of the word *mango*. A vast process of arranging and definitely denoting the thought-material or of breaking up a complex thought-material into its elements and definitely symbolising it, has preceded it. By the word *mango* a variety of visual<sup>2</sup>, tactile and other sensations are united and made into a unit, while by the word *red* an element of the compound sensation produced by a certain object of a particular colour, size and shape, is analysed and singled out by being attached to the word-symbol *red*. This arranging and denoting of thought-material must be accompanied by articu-

---

1. Porzezinski-Boehme, *Einleitung in die Sprachwissenschaft* p. 1.

2. Oertel, *Lectures on the Study of Language* p. 65.

late sound in order to produce the desired effect. We thus see how the physical and psychical elements go hand in hand in speech.

It is the thought-material and not the articulate sound that gives a language its special character.

Thus, the recognition of this fact,—the importance of the psychical element in speech, led philologists to turn their attention to the psychology of speech. What led to this effect more chiefly is, according to Oertel, the following things<sup>1</sup>:—The employment of *analogy* as a methodological principle and the first beginnings of what we now term *Semantics*. We shall deal with both of these subjects later.

Not all the psychical processes which form an important factor in speech, could be observed and detected. Many of them take place without any clear consciousness on the part of the speaker, and whatever has passed through one's consciousness remains as a potent factor in a subconscious state. All expressions of speech-activity flow from this subconscious state in the soul. It should be noted, however, that some eminent psychologists deny that there is anything in the soul that is beyond consciousness.

*a. Outer speech*:—Before proceeding to consider how language comes into being and developes, we shall first of all see how speech-sound is produced. We are able to produce sound when we have taken breath into our lung. Articulate sound is nothing else than the working up, by means of the speech-organs, of the air pressed out from the lung. When the breath passes

---

1. Oertel, O. C. p. 68.

through the lung into the larynx (Adam's Apple as it is popularly called), the vocal chords placed in it begin to vibrate. We can feel them when we put our hand on the apple while speaking. These vibrations are communicated to the passing stream of breath. As the breath passes through the upper part of the throat, it can take two ways, *viz.*, through the nose—which is its natural course when the mouth is shut (for instance when we say *m* by the shut mouth), and through the mouth. To make the former possible, the soft palate with the uvula must hang down straight. When they are pressed towards the back of the throat, the breath passes into the cavity of the mouth. This breath, which has now become sound, is not yet distinctly articulate. When it passes through the mouth, it can meet with obstructions at several places from the tongue, *viz.*, at the roof of the mouth (or soft palate), at the hard palate, at the hard gums of the upper teeth and lastly at the lips; and by different parts of the tongue, *viz.*, its back, middle and tip; *e. g.*, when we produce the sounds *k*, *c*, and *t*, in slow succession, we feel the gradual change of the place of obstruction by the tongue. When the breath tries to escape obstructions and explodes, we have the several consonants. In the production of vowels the tongue does not actually obstruct the breath, but only helps in widening or narrowing its passage, upon which the quality of the vowels depends. The vowels and the consonants together make up the sound-material of language.

All the vowels and all the consonants with their different classes, combine into syllables and these latter into words.

---

1. See Meringer's excellent description of the physical process of speech, in the *Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft* pp. 13-21.



**b. Stress or Accent:**—But all the syllables of a word are not of the same value. Usually some one of them is brought into prominence. This could be effected in different ways: by uttering the syllable in a particular tone or with greater stress. In the north of Germany for example, both these coincide; *e. g.*, *vater*—the first syllable carries not only the stress but the pitch. This special treatment of a syllable is called accent. The latter or pitch accent is also called musical accent. Sanskrit and most of the Indo-Germanic languages had originally a musical tone; *e. g.*, ऋजिष्वन्, गायत्रम्, इन्द्रः, इन्द्रार्मी, where accent is musical; Marāṭhī काम, देऊळ, Gujarāṭī बारणु etc.; but it is neglected as it has ceased to play any part in these languages. The two accents however need not necessarily be borne by one and the same syllable. When, for instance, we ask a question तू कामाला गेला होतास? the stress is on का but मा is pronounced with a higher pitch. One thing is to be borne in mind in this connection, that, sometimes a syllable might begin by a lower pitch and finish in a higher pitch and vice-versa. This gives what is called in Sanskrit the स्वरित, and in Greek the circumflex; ब्रह्मणस्पतिः, इन्द्रशत्रुः etc.

**5. Inner speech:**—We now turn to the psychical part—the thought or inner speech; for actual spoken words are but the clothing of our thoughts.

We learn our speech in childhood; it is a process of slow acquisition; but while learning we do not accept the ready-made words of our elders. We hear them repeat some words often and often. We try to catch their precise sound; we also try to mark the position of the organs of speech and thus imitate it as closely as possible. Thus when a child hears the word bell, first of all there is the acoustic sensation; at the same time it tries to see the movement of the speech-organs and imitates them; here is a motory impres-

sion produced on his brain. Our speech is therefore composed of acoustic and motory images of a spoken word. In other words, inner speech depends upon memory images of the words and sentences heard and spoken by ourselves. These memory images (Erinnerungs-bilder) are called speech or sound ideas (Lautvorstellungen).

When a child trying to imitate the word कका actually says टटा, or calls a *cat* *tat*, it has got no idea that it has mispronounced the word. It has tried to pronounce it as faithfully as possible. As it grows up, as the use of the organs of speech becomes freer, it slowly assimilates its pronunciation of the word to the standard.

Nor does a child try to imitate only; but while imitating, it creates new forms and words on the analogy of those it has heard. Thus because it has repeatedly heard forms like घरलें and भरलें, it forms others like करलें and मरलें. It invents the new past tense in place of the more correct केलें etc. Thus, then, the speech of an individual is traditional and yet peculiarly his own. Paradoxical as it may seem, it is this fact which serves as a conservative element and is at the same time one of the factors contributing to change in language.

As language is a means of communication, every individual tries to avoid innovation as far as possible and therefore resents it at the hands of others; and yet is the system of associations of sensations (visual, acoustic, olfactory, tactile etc.), and movements peculiar to every individual. But the relieving feature of it is that similar associations have a firmer hold on all the members of a group of individuals, than any social institution. So that although in one sense language depends upon an individual, the individual on his part is a creature of the language, which as a child he has to acquire.

6. **Language an acquisition** :—Language therefore is more or less traditional and social. It should not be supposed, as is sometimes done, that it is inherited as a race characteristic.<sup>1</sup> A child can acquire any other language in as much the same way as it does its mother tongue. Imagine, for instance, a child of Gujrātī parents kept with a Marāṭhī nurse. Sure enough the child acquires the language of the nurse. If the father speaks one language, say Marāṭhī, and the mother another, say Kanerese—the child will learn both languages and show the same mastery over both; *e. g.*, children of missionaries in India who easily pick up the language of their Ayyah.

History has some very interesting examples that go against the theory, that language is a race characteristic and is inherited like other characteristics. The French people are the descendants of the Celts of the Roman days. But what language are they speaking now? Not their own, the Celtic, which has long since disappeared from France before the more cultured speech of the Roman conquerors; they speak a language—the French, which originally was a dialect of the Latin language. Another example is the language of the Indian Parsees. They speak a language, which, though remotely and indirectly related to their old speech, is really as foreign to them as any other Indian dialect. The Bhils of Central India and Satpura too speak the Bhili language, which is very akin to the Khāndeśī, although they belong to the aborigines of India, and as such must have spoken a dialect of the Mundā group.

The other theory, that language is independently produced by each individual, meets with no better fate. What we have said above is a sufficient argument against it. A

---

1. Whitney, *Life and Growth of Language* p. 8 ff.

language is acquired by each individual, but not produced. In the latter case, he would have to spend his whole life-time in finding out things, which have already long ago been found out for him by others; and there would be absolutely no progress. His task again would be made more arduous, as whatever he produces would be unintelligible to others and would not be accepted by them.

7. *Origin of language*:—It may be allowed to pause a little and consider the question of the origin of language. Now with us it is an achievement, an acquisition. We have acquired it from the previous generation through communication. But how was it originally acquired by man? The theories that it is a gift of God or that it is the result of a deliberate convention arrived at by the members of the most primitive community, may be brushed aside at once. No linguist believes in them to-day.

Here the theory of evolution is our chief help. We know that the civilised man of to-day, has developed from a very primitive mammal, that could only utter a sound like an animal. In fact our complete vocal organs are the result of a very slow natural growth. We can therefore imagine a time when man, like the lower animals, could only cry. This cry went a good way in indicating feelings of joy or pain; it was of course also a call. In this connection we must quote at some length the interesting remarks of Lefevre,<sup>1</sup> the Paris anthropologist: "When experience and induction, by their mutual aid, had at length succeeded in tracing the genealogical tree of mankind, a fortunate discovery was made in anthropology. In embryology the student found an abridgment, a summary of the transformation discovered or assumed from age to age."

---

1. *Race and Language* p. 22 ff.



By the aid of the microscope, foetal life reveals to the eye all the phases in the development of the cell, of the egg, of the very simple material aggregate which is destined to be clothed with the dignity of humanity—that is to say to realise within a few months the work of a thousand centuries. Now it seems that language also has in some sort its embryology. Not that we can ever be the spectators of the formation of the language; but we possess the germ nevertheless, the undoubted embryology of speech—the cry—which in most of the higher animals, even in man himself, exists as an independent utterance, and suffices for the expression of certain sentiments and even of a few ideas, and is consequently the first element of the crudest forms of speech.” And further, “Repetition, continuance, the raising and lowering of the tone, mark the earliest efforts to attain to the expression of more varied and more distinctly realised sensation. Modulations, more or less uncertain, more or less fixed by practice, as consciousness dawns, come to increase the vocal resources. A given vocabulary will include five, six, or even ten variations of the specific cry, each one doubled by a stronger or weaker form, and susceptible of expressive combinations, comparable to our derivatives and compound words; the language thus reflects, so to speak, the shades of joy and pain, fear or desire, sickness or health, hunger or thirst, changes of temperature, the approach of day, or night.” “The summoning<sup>1</sup> cry, so largely used by animals, has been developed and defined into command, into indication of distance, number, person, sex; etc. With regard to the emotional character, it is perhaps, in spite of its reflex and involuntary character, a yet more important factor. Being associated with all the movements called forth by these, it

---

1. Race and Language p. 28.

affirms a state, the passing of one state to another and subsequently, an action and the result of an action."

The next step, yet in the prehistoric stage, in the development of language, is the imitation of natural objects, both animate and inanimate. This theory of onomatopœia has been maintained by renowned linguists like Whitney, Paul and others. Although in the present highly developed state of language, there are very few, almost no, traces of this, there is no doubt that this formed an important factor in the earliest stages of human speech. For, granting that mutual communication and understanding is the sole aim of language, what would be more natural and easier to the most primitive man than to denote various animals and objects in nature by imitating their distinctive cries? To quote Whitney<sup>1</sup>, "If we thus accept the impulse to communicate as the governing principle of speech-development, and the voice as the agent whose action we have especially to trace, it will not be difficult to establish other points in the earliest history. Whatever offered itself as the most feasible means of arriving at mutual understanding would be soonest turned to account. We have regarded the reproduction, with intent to signify something, of the natural tones and cries, as the positively earliest speech; but this would so immediately and certainly come to be combined with imitative or onomatopœic utterances, that the distinction in time between the two is rather theoretical than actual. Indeed, the reproduction itself is in a certain way onomatopœic; it imitates, so to speak, the cries of the human animal, in order to intimate secondarily what those cries in their primary use signified directly. Just as soon at any rate, as an inkling of the value of communication

---

1. O. C. p. 294-95.

was gained, and the process began to be performed a little more consciously, the range of imitation would be extended. This is a direct corollary to the principles laid down above. Mutual intelligence being aimed at, and audible utterance the means employed, audible sounds will be the matter more readily represented and conveyed; just as something else would come easiest to one who used a different means. To repeat once more the old and well-worn, but telling illustration: if we had the conception of a dog to signify, and the instrumentality were pictorial, we should draw the outline figure of a dog; if the means were gesture, we should imitate some characteristic visible act of the animal for example, its bite or wagging of its tail; if it were voice we should say "bow-wow." This is the simplest explanation of the importance which is and must be attributed to the onomatopoeic principle in the early stages of language-making."

From the cry and onomatopœia, with their various combinations, by means of association and metaphor, we arrive at a vocabulary, sufficient for the purposes of primitive man. For a primitive hunter, and man was only such at the beginning, the stock of words need not have been very large. But as the hunter further developed into the herdsman leading a nomadic life, the original stock of words would not suffice. Here is then work for convention based upon mutual undersanding. Certain words to represent new objects and ideas were used by certain individuals and upon their being accepted by the tribe or community, became by repetition quite current coin. It must be remembered, however, that the basis for this is always the small original stock, which is thus improved upon and added to by manipulations of various kinds, based upon association of various kinds and metaphor.

8. **Language is not an organic growth:**—After all this, very few words are needed to refute the theory, that language, like plants and animals, is an organic growth. We have seen above, that it is the result of the psychophysical dispositions of man and more or less a social institution. It is interesting, however, to note that the theory owes its origin to certain resemblances between the growth of a language and organic life. In the latter we find the gradation of individuals, the species, the genus, although of course class, species, and genus are more or less subjective and have no real existence. In the same way there is the speech of the individual, the dialect to which it belongs, and the general language of which the several dialects are local variations and so on. There is another analogy. The development, say of an individual animal, depends upon two factors: its parents and its surroundings. The same with language. It depends upon the community<sup>1</sup> in which the individual lives and secondly, upon the peculiarities and movements of mental and physical nature of the individual. It has like the organism or species a birth, development, decay and the like. But here the parallel does and ought to end. Because language after all has no separate existence apart from the psychophysical dispositions of an individual.

9. **Constant change in Language:**—It may sound a bit astounding, but it is no less true, that every language is, at any moment in its life, in a state of change; and within one homogeneous looking language, there are as many variations<sup>2</sup> as there are individuals speaking it. For, we have seen that speech depends upon certain psychophysical processes. Now these latter are bound to differ, howsoever

---

1. Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* p. 37-38,

2. O. C. p. 27.



imperceptibly, with different individuals. We have also seen that language is an achievement. In the very process of this acquisition, certain linguistic factors are dropped out of consideration, as certain other new ones are added; because a successful achievement depends as much upon the capacity of an individual (both in point of hearing and the basis of articulation), as upon the circumstances in which he is placed. "The inner speech organism or the groups of speech-ideas are constantly changing in every individual." The three causes enumerated by Paul should be noted. First, every impetus that is not, in consciousness, supported by the renewal of the impression or by itself being repeated, becomes weaker and weaker. Secondly, every activity of speaking, hearing, or thinking adds something new to the speech-material. Even in faithful reproduction of an original activity, at least some of the moments of an existing speech-organism are strengthened. And thirdly, as well by the strengthening of old speech elements as by the addition of new ones, the conditions of the associations inside the speech-organism are always shifted.

There would, therefore, be as many dialects of our Marāṭhī or Gujarātī language, as there are individuals speaking it. Only they have not yet assumed the dignity of dialect because there is the unifying factor of mutual understanding.

**10. Dialects :—**We may therefore define dialect as the speech of a group of individuals, who can make themselves easily and perfectly intelligible to one another; or to put it in other and more accurate words, dialect<sup>2</sup> is constituted

---

1. Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* p. 27.

2. See also Meillet-Prinz, *Vergleichende Grammatik* p. 23.

by the speech of all those persons, in whose utterances 'variations are not sensibly perceived or attended to.'

Besides individual differences, which are not yet called dialects, there are differences between persons forming different religious, social, political or economic groups. These are more conspicuous than individual differences. We perceive them and call them dialectal. Thus the ordinary everyday speech of a Brahmin differs in certain points from that of a high class Maratha; and that of the latter from the speech of a coolie. Although these classes make themselves mutually intelligible, yet within themselves they show peculiarities in grammar, vocabulary, and even in intonation, which are at once noticed. Thus for instance the, वेस्तवार of workmen is the same as ब्रह्मपतवार of Brahmin women, and the बृहस्पतिवार of Brahmins. Genetically it is one word; but how it has changed its form! In Kolhapur district, we often hear an expression, to us very strange, तो तुझाला कोण पाहिजे, तो आझाला पाहुणा पाहिजे; queerly enough सोयरा has acquired a bad meaning in that district. In the Ahmednagar district, they say ओढें निघालें, at which a Poona gentleman laughs because he knows only उढें निघालें. The रड्ढा धरला of Marathas in the districts close upon the Carnatic, is equally ridiculous in his eyes. Thus *again* the word *carriage* means in Poona Marāṭhī खटारा and in Berar Marāṭhī खाचर. To take other examples from the dialects of Marāṭhī: the Deccan Marāṭhī होता is represented by Konkani Marāṭhī अशिद्धो etc. The latter four examples are specially chosen as not being class variations; but they are the differences of district. Every district of Mahārāṣṭra shows such peculiarities and we call them dialectal variations.

Then there are variations due to differences in education and general culture. The speech of a highly edu-

cated man of today would naturally differ from that of a quiet country-gentleman. The latter might not understand words like शिक्षणक्रम, सनदशीर, निसर्गसिद्ध हक्क, प्रातिनिधिक, संसार-सुधारा परिषद्, केळवणी, तत्त्ववाद and the like. On the contrary an educated gentleman might fail to understand words like बाहातुक, खोती, राब, बेणें and the like. Some of the words and phrases of the uncultured people, are, more often than not, mispronunciations, mistakes of grammar and syntax, *e. g.* बखळ, हायती, ईतभर, ऊच, बरालडा, पलडा.

When we say these are dialectal differences, we do not mean they are something less than language. They do not differ in kind but only in degree. The individuals speaking two different dialects, might find it hard to understand one another as readily as they would understand those who spoke in their own dialect. But they may in general matters speak in such a way as to easily understand one another. Because, despite these petty dialectal variations their language is one. For, in the words of Whitney<sup>1</sup> "the possibility of communication makes the unity of a language."

The dialectal or semi-dialectal differences within the limits of the same language and the same community, tend to become greatest when the differences between classes and sections are greatest. Mutual understanding is the force that is both restrictive and communicative, because it is by its means that an innovation in a speech is communicated to others and possibly accepted by them. Whatever, therefore, tends to increase communication, like education, newspaper, trade, travel, railway etc., also tends to make for unity in speech. A common history, national feeling, national poetry, written literature are also among causes that may

---

1. Life and Growth of Language p. 157.

be called conservative. On the contrary, whatever slows down communication, tends to accentuate and for the matter of that, perpetuate differences. Thus although in a barbarous community, the possibility of innovations is very small, when that community breaks up, say by quarrel or migration and is separated by a river, a dale, or a mountain without any possibility of further intercourse, the difference will be so accentuated, that in course of time, there will be developed two entirely different forms of speech. How want of communication isolates a dialect is best exemplified in our Berārī and Konkanī dialects. The speakers of these separated somehow from the main body of Marathas and were so surrounded by peoples speaking foreign languages and were also for a time so isolated, that they have yet preserved a form of Marāṭhī that is as old as the 13th century, if not earlier. The influences that tended towards change in Mahārāṣṭra proper were absent in these cases. The Brahui, a Dravidian language, in the midst of Iranian languages like the Pashto and Baloch, is a good example of isolation.

However strong the variations, there are several things that bind dialects together. A largely common vocabulary, a system of inflection and conjugation that easily discover commonness of source, a distinctly related phonology, easily disclose the relationship of dialects. Meillet<sup>1</sup> has very succinctly expressed this view of dialects in the following words. "One and the same language shows, in every section of the community in which it is spoken, certain peculiarities in pronunciation, in grammar and in vocabulary. These peculiarities are handed down from generation to generation and every generation seeks to increase them. The totality of such changes in the same

---

1. Einführung in die Vergleichende Grammatik P. 22 and 23.



tongue we call dialects, which, without being identical, have certain common peculiarities and a general resemblance which is so recognised by the speakers." Some of the most instructive examples of dialectal growth are shown by the Romance languages on the one, and the Germanic languages on the other hand in Europe; and the Aryan branch of the Indian dialects in Asia. *Frater*, the Latin word for brother, is seen in the French as *frere*, *confrere*, in the Italian *fra* with change of meaning as in certain proper names, *e. g.* *Fra Bartholomeo*, Spanish *Fry*, also with change of meaning (seen in English *friar*), so that in Italian a new word *fratello*, the diminutive, had to be used for brother and in Spanish a word of quite a different sort had to be substituted for it, *e. g.* *hermano* from Lat. *germanus* (seen in the English word *german*). In the Germanic group we find the same differences, which however point to unity; Dutch *broeder*, German *bruder*, Icelandic *brothir*, Swedish *broder*, English *brother*, Danish *bror*. Another example is the word for wife in the Germanic languages; English *wife*, German *weib*, with change of meaning, and *vif* are the dialectal variations of the same primitive Germanic word.

Examples from Indian dialects : Coming to the Marāṭhī, we find the interesting dialectal variations in the word for *my*; मोजें Konkanī, मागेलें Kārwārī, माझो Ratnāgirī, माझा Poona, माहा Berārī; all of which we can trace to the मज्झ of Māhārāṣṭrī Prākṛit. In मागेलें we trace the influence of the Kanarese, on whose borderland, we know, this Marāṭhī dialect is spoken. *Brother* is in Konkanī भाव, Kārwārī भावु, Ratnāgirī भाऊस, Poona भाऊ, which could be traced to Jain<sup>2</sup>—

1. Linguistic Survey Vol. VII p. 392.

2. Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen p. 112.

Māhārāṣṭrī भाउ, in भाउज्जा for Sanskrit भ्रातृजाया. The most instructive words in this matter are the numerals, the pronouns and words of immediate relationship. If in the case of other resemblances, the possibility of mixture of dialects, of borrowing, make the solution of the problem difficult to a linguist, these words at any rate are such that even in the case of the most primitive people, no one will possibly think of a borrowing. A comparison of these is very interesting; word for *two* is in Marāṭhī दोन, in Hindī दो in Gujarātī बे, where the second consonant in Sanskrit द्वौ is retained; word for *eleven* is in Mar. अकरा, Gujarātī अग्यार, or एग्यारह, Hindī ग्यारा. We can at once see that these are variations of the common Sanskrit द्वौ, द्वा and एकादश. The word for *we* is in Marāṭhī आह्मी, Gujarātī अह्मे, Hindī हमे, Bengali আমি. These have that part common, which is seen in the base of the Sk. acc. अस्मान्. Word for *sister* is in Marāṭhī बहीण, Hindī भेण, Gujarātī बेहेण, from the common Sanskrit भगिनी.

11. Dialects point to a common mother language :—These correspondences in the variety of dialects clearly point to an original unity. In the case of the older languages like the Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, we can only point out the correspondences, but cannot with any surety lay our finger on any known form, which we could call their common source. But the observed facts in the modern dialects justify our applying the principles won from an observation of them, to the older languages. We can therefore say, with as much surety as when we were dealing with modern dialects, that the older languages, which show in their variety such striking resemblances, are really dialects of an original speech, which is called the Indo-Germanic mother-language.

How can we explain the diversity in the reproduction of a sound in the original language? Why is it that an original *bh* is represented by *b* in English and German, *bh* in Sanskrit and *ph* in Greek and Latin? One of the causes may be, that the races that separated, gradually changed their basis of articulation as they changed their homes and surroundings. But it is also likely that the original sound was itself so uncertain, that different peoples reproduced it in different ways. If you all of a sudden find yourself among strange people, you find it difficult to reproduce certain of their vocables. If you are in a tramcar in Munich, it is ten to one, that you will not understand whether the conductor says *Parer Strasse* or *Barer Strasse*; or in Leipzig, you can't make out whether your best professor of languages says *Kössel* or *Gössel* (a proper name). This fact is perhaps better illustrative either (1) of the uncertainty of the pronunciation itself or (2) the uncertainty of the acoustic effect produced by it.

12. Practical illustration of linguistic change :—If we follow the course of the life of any language, we clearly see, what has been already indicated above, that no language is ever in a static condition; that it always changes and grows. Taking for example that language of the Indo-German family, which is more closely related to Sanskrit than any other of that group, viz., the Avesta, we find that it has always and gradually undergone a change. The language of the inscriptions of Darius, the language of the sacred books of the Parsis called Avesta, the later language of the commentaries called Pahlavi, the old Persian of poets like Firdausi, are the most obviously notable changes in the life of the language of the Persians. Coming nearer home, we find that the Vedic Sanskrit is already a more ancient and archaic idiom than the

language of the theological books, that this latter differs from the epic Sanskrit, and between that and the classical Sanskrit there are differences that are equally obvious.

Our own Marāṭhī shows behind it a development of at least one thousand years, if not more. The earliest authentic literature in Marāṭhī belongs to the thirteenth century A. D., if not earlier. As a spoken dialect it must have existed some centuries before that at least. Now when we compare the Marāṭhī of Dnyaneshwar with the Marāṭhī of today, we find that an astounding change has come over it. Even if we compare that old Marāṭhī to the Marāṭhī of two to three centuries later, Ekanath's Marāṭhī, we are struck with a great difference not only in the vocabulary but also in the grammar of both.

As a concrete example, we take the following passage from the 15th Chapter of Dnyaneshwari, vs. 47 ff.

तो हा जगडम्बर । नव्हे येथ संवसार । हा जाणें महातर । थावला असे ॥ परी येरां  
रुखां सारिखा । तळीं मुळें वरी शाखा । तैसा नव्हे ह्यणोंनि लेखा । नये कव्हणा ॥ आगी  
कां कुन्हाडी । होए रिगावा जरी बुडीं । तरी होकां भले तेव्हडी । वरचील वाढी ॥ जे  
खुटलेयां मुळांपासीं । उलंडैल कीं शाखांसी । परी तैसी गोठी कायसी । हा सोहपा नव्हे ॥  
अर्जुना हें कवतिक । सांगतां असे अलौकिक । जें वाढी अधोमुख । रुखा या ॥ आणि आथि नाथि  
तितुकें । रुंधलें असें एणेंचि एकें ॥ कां रवीचां अस्तमानीं । अंधारेन कोंदे रजनी ॥

We pick up from this passage some forms for convenience sake, and examine them : संवसार, जाणें, थावला, येरां रुखां, ह्यणोंनि, भले तेव्हडी, उलंडैल, आथि, रवीचां, अंधारेन.

a. संवसार. What strikes us in this word is the termination of the nom. sing. It is उ, which is the remnant of रु, which in Sanskrit before soft consonants becomes ओ; this latter form is generalized by the Prākritis, where the nom. sing. of masc. in अ is ओ; e. g. गोदमो, बुद्धो. Māgadhi however has changed it to ए. The Māhārāṣṭrī has shortened it to उ.



as in पुत्तु or पूत्तु. Our modern Marāṭhī has lost the उ and has simply the अ ending. We can mark the stages thus: Sanskrit संसारः, Prākṛit संसारो, old Marāṭhī संवसार and modern Marāṭhī संवसार or संसार. This is a change that has affected the formantic element सू. Then there is a phonetic change observable in the body of the word itself, the stem as it is called. The Sanskrit संसार has व developed between the nasal and the स. This is introduced for facility of pronunciation, as a transitional sound between the nasal and the following sibilant. Perhaps the transitional stage is सौंसार, *e. g.* सौंगडी, modern संवगडी; also Ap. भंवर, भमर for भ्रमर. The present संसार is not a development of the old संवसार. It is borrowed from Sanskrit directly. Of this process of borrowing from the old stock and its effects, we have to speak later on.

The Gujarātī has generalised the ओ ending of the nom. of masc. in अ; *e. g.* घोडो.

*b.* जाणें is more interesting still. First of all the formantic element or termination appears to be ई or ऐ. This is for the 2nd pers. sing. of the Imp. this becomes in later Marāṭhī जाण. The genesis of this termination is not clear. The possible forms,<sup>1</sup> say of a root वृत्, in the 2nd. pers. sing. Imp. are in Prākṛit वट्ट, वट्टसु, वट्टेसु, वट्टेहि, Amg. वट्टाहि, Ap. वट्टु, वट्टुहि. जाण, the representative of Sanskrit ज्ञा, could not have so many forms; जाणाहि, probably also जाणेहि, which through जाणे-ई would give जाणें. With सु it is not found used. With the dropping of the हि, we arrive at the form, the अनुनासिक compensating for the loss of aspirate. So far for the form, which has changed. Then the change in the body of the word. The original conjunct is already in the Prākṛit dissolved and the component parts are made

1. Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen p. 331.

into separate syllables. So that the monosyllabic tends to become dissyllabic. Or rather, the conjugational sign as seen in Sk. जानाति is retained, and the termination applied. In Prākṛit we have कुण् from कृ, which goes back upon the old 5th conjugational form of the root seen in Vedic कृणेति.

c. थावला is the 3rd pers. sing. of the past tense. थाव is from Sanskrit causal base स्थाप् of स्था. The dialect does not allow a sibilant in the beginning of a conjunct and drops it. Other examples are फुड for Sanskrit स्फुट, थेर through थविर from Sanskrit स्थविर. In the representation of the Sanskrit स्थ, however, there is a hesitation in the Prākṛits.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes we get ठाव, but also थाव. The ज्ञानेश्वरी has थाउ also. The non-initial प has become व, as in पाप-पाव, रूप-रुव, आतप-आअव, कोप-कोव, दीप-दीव. Then the past tense is not made up, as in Sanskrit, by adding an augment and joining the terminations of that tense. Here we have a suffix which makes the root a participle, as most Pr. tense-suffixes do. According to one theory, this has probably come from the त् of the Sanskrit past. pass. part. through द्, इ in some Prākṛits, by the phonetic law obtaining among the Indian languages, that इ and ल् are similar sounds. "In the Prākṛits<sup>2</sup> the past tense is indicated by the present (historical) or in an indirect way by the past pass. part., in which case the agent of transitive verbs is used in the instr. case." The Sanskrit त् becomes द्-सुदम्,

1. Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen p. 212.

2. Pischel, O. C. p. 361; Bhandarkar, Philological Lectures p. 219 Rājwāde in his Dnyaneshwari-Grammar p. 80, 81, tries to derive the forms of the present used for the past from Sanskrit लङ् or imperfect; असे, असे from आसम्, आसीत्, असस from आसीः. Says he 'the Augment which roots take in Sanskrit when लङ् follows, is not found in Marāṭhī and the Prakrit.' This derivation of the historical present is scarcely likely.

अनुचिद्धिद् in Śaur. Pr. In certain dialects it also becomes इ but only under certain circumstances; कड for कृत J M. Amg. etc. cf. मड<sup>1</sup> for मृत, हड for हृत. It is through this latter that the ल becomes generalised<sup>2</sup> as the participial termination for the past tense.

Hoernle<sup>3</sup> regards the form as past participial suffix in अल, इल.

The other and most likely theory is that this form of the participial tense was evolved independently of Sanskrit. It is seen, besides in the Marāṭhī, also in Oriyā, Bengālī, Bihārī and even in the Assamese, languages, which according to Grierson<sup>4</sup> belong to the Outer Circle; *e. g.*, Mar. उठिला or उठला. O. उठिला, लेखिल, B. उठिल, कहिल, Bih. उठल, Ass. उठिल. In Gujarātī, too, it is found in restricted use and in Sindhī<sup>5</sup> also. In these latter languages it is applied to already formed past participles and hence it is to be regarded as distinct from them. Even in old Marāṭhī, we find it at the end of some past participles, दीन्हला, हाणितला, भिनला (through भिन्न). Rājwāde<sup>6</sup> regards it as a स्वार्थे ल suffix, applied to forms of past participles.

c. येरां रुखां :—These are the forms of the acc. plural. The old acc. plural ending न्, which in Sanskrit itself had dropped the final and become simply न् as in देवान्, is found in this form only before such words as सारखा, प्रमाणे etc. Ordinarily it is dropped and the base form only serves as a plural; येर रुख would be the acc. plural. This form is responsible for the अनुनासिक in plurals of other cases.

1. Pischel, O. C. 157.

2. Bhandarkar, Philological Lectures p. 221.

3. Gaudian Languages p. 138, 350.

4. Languages of India p. 68.

5. Bhandarkar, Philological Lectures p. 231.

6. Dnyaneshwari Grammar p. 96.

Today, of course, येरां and रुखां would be looked upon as सामान्यरूप or crude or base forms, *i. e.* stems before any terminations are applied to them.

Then येर is from एर. Māgadhī<sup>1</sup> (Pāli) and others insert a य before ए, *e. g.* येव. We find in certain Marāṭhī dialects of today forms like येवढें, येक instead of एवढें, एक in normal speech. येथें for एथें from Pr. एत्थ, Sk. इत्था has become current coin, although एवढें and एक would lead us to expect एथें here too. Dnyaneshwari shows both य and ए, *e. g.* एकोळ and येकोळ. रुख is from Sk. वृक्ष<sup>2</sup> through Pr. रुख्ख; like भिरुखु from भिक्षु. The रु for वृ is interesting, as it is a case of *metathesis* and *Samprasāraṇa*.

d. ह्यणौन is the most interesting form in the passage. It is made up of ह्यण and औन. This latter is the termination of the absolutive, legitimate representative of the Māhārāṣṭrī ऊण<sup>3</sup> in काऊण for कृत्वा-नम् (Gujarātī करीनें, लईनें etc.), जेऊण also J M. जिणि-ऊण from जित्वा and the like. In our present Marāṭhī, it is ऊन and not औन. In old Sanskrit the termination is त्वां or त्वी and त्वानम् or त्वीनम्. M. ऊण would go back upon the latter. ह्यणौनि, लाणौनि are also seen on the Nagaon inscription of 1367 A. D. We see therefore that the Māhārāṣṭrī has discarded the current Sanskrit termination and adopted a new one, probably from an ancient Sanskrit dialect parallel to the Vedic.

Secondly ह्यण is the legitimate development of Sanskrit भण्, also seen in our ह्यटलें, ह्यणजे. Not only has the word changed on its formal side, but it has also changed in its contents or meaning. Strictly the form ought to

1. Plischel, Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen p. 229.

2. Plischel, O. C. p. 221.

3. Plischel, O. C. p. 396.

4. Rājwāde, संकीर्णलेखसंग्रह No. 23.



mean *after having said that*, then, *because we have said that* and from that simply, *because* or *therefore*. The word has lost much in meaning. It was a root and has now become a mere conjunction. Just as the old gerund करि, कर has later in Hindi become a simple suffix, making gerunds; e. g. लेकर, करकर.

e. भले तेव्हडी is a compound expression important in two ways. First of all the word भले. We have other combinations with this in the ज्ञानेश्वरी; भलतेव्हां, भलतेथें (where perhaps we have to expect भलतें तेथें, with haplology of the former ते), भलतेतुकें, भलतेउतें. The first part of the compound, therefore, is either भलतें or भलें. This word alone is found in several places in the ज्ञानेश्वरी either as भलतें or as भलेंतें. We can see that भलें is in the former compound shortened to भल. भलें is from भद्रक through भल्लअ. Rājwāde's derivation<sup>1</sup> from ह्वल् is untenable. द्र is sometimes<sup>2</sup> changed to ल्ल in the M. and Pāli; for आर्द्र-अल्ल, for छिद्रित-छिल्ल, c. f. चुल्लवग-धुद्रकवर्ग. भलें or भलतें therefore only means *good one* and then since one would always *choose* good things, भलतें came to mean *any you choose*. Thus we find change in form accompanied by change in content or meaning.

We see, that the word भलें in this particular meaning is still retained in certain parts of Mahārāṣṭra. We often hear an expression like the following : मीं तुमची सोय केली आहे; मग तुझाला भीक मागायची असली तर भले मागा.

भलतें तेथें would thus mean *where you will* or *at any place*. In the same way भलतेव्हडी would mean *of any dimension*, *however much*.

तेव्हडी corresponds in meaning to Sanskrit तावती. But the one is probably not to be derived from the other. तावत् becomes in Pr. दाव, rarely ताव. This with a suffix ढ and

1. Dnyaneshwari Grammar p. 126.

2. Pischel, O. C. 202.



unaccountable change of आ to ए would give तेवढी. This same process will have to be assumed for एवढी, केवढी, जेवढी etc. Regularly वृद्ध ought to and does actually give वुद्ध, as क follows labial. But this is not an absolute phonetic law, as we find forms like मच्चू from मृत्यु, मउई from मृद्धी, वगी-वृकी; वृद्धि itself actually gives वढी and वुढी. The distinction in meaning, *interest* and *growth* is not very consequent, for we find परिवढी when we should expect परिवुढी. Cf. Marāṭhī वाढ. The कर्पूरमञ्जरी I. 34 c. has actually got वअणवढिमा for *growth*, *bigness*, where the sense that वढी itself was an abstract noun was lost and a further abstract term. was added to it. Very likely ते is a representative of the demonstrative तत् through त्यत्, तियत् (इयत् and कियत् lead to the latter) and वढी comes from वृद्ध, वृद्धि, which would give वद्ध, वढी and ultimately वढी. The अपभ्रंश form, which according to Rājwāde<sup>1</sup> is तेवड, would corroborate this. Cf. also Jain M. एवड्ड, which Weber and after him Pischel<sup>2</sup> rightly trace to इयत् which becomes ए.

One word more. तेवढी and तेव्हडी are not separated by time; they are dialectal variations current in the same period; in the second form we have an anticipation of the aspirate in the second place, a phenomenon not uncommon in any language. The same is observed in forms like केव्हडा, एव्हडा, जेव्हडा.

f. उलंडेल:—This is the future of the root उलंड with the participial termination of the future ऐल or ईल. This is another testimony to the same peculiarity of the modern Indian dialects, which is already seen above in the form of the preterite थावला. Excepting the Gujarātī, which has

1. Dnyaneshwari Grammar p. 63.

2. Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen p. 113.

preserved Sanskrit स्य in forms like करीश, करशे, करिशुं, करशो, and the Hindī करिहौं and in a solitary Marāṭhī form करशील, a combination of the old synthetic tense and the modern termination ईल, they have banished the old form and coined a new one for it. This ईल, ईन, with root ending in अ, is seen in Tukārām ; e. g. त्याच्या पायीं ठाव मागइन.

Old Hindī<sup>1</sup> only of the remaining dialects has preserved this remnant of the old synthetical tense. Cf. करिहौं, करिहैं.

This root उलंड appears to be a pure Prākṛit form and is not, as some suppose, connected with the Sanskrit उल्लङ्घ. The primary sense is *to fall or cause to fall topsytervy, to topple or cause to topple*. The Marāṭhī ओलांडणे, which has kept the form, has changed the meaning. उलंडिलें तक्राचें of तुकाराम has still the old sense.

g. आथि is from Sanskrit अस्ति, where the sibilant, being transferred to the end of the word, gives the final its aspirate character. We find the same phenomenon in Gujarātī हाथ from हस्त, Guj. हाथी, old Marāṭhī हाथिरुं from हस्ती, पोथी through पोथ्यअ from पुस्तक etc. We have changed the form into आहे, Gujarātī होय, Hindī हो.

h. रवीचां is the modern रवीच्या, the oblique form of the possessive adjective रवीचा. The original seems to be the loc. form of the same. We find it lengthened into चिये e. g. देवाचिये द्वारीं etc., which is only another form of देवाच्या—by स्वरभक्ति in the last syllable.

This चा is a suffix that makes possessive adjectives of nouns. Its genesis is yet a debatable point. Krishna-shastri Chiploonkar<sup>2</sup> derived it from the Sanskrit तद्धित

1. Beames, Comparative Grammar Vol. III p. 112.

2. मराठी व्याकरणावरील निबंध p. 62.

ईय, and Krishnashastri Godbole<sup>1</sup> supported his derivation. Dr. Bhandarkar<sup>2</sup> sees in it the phonetic descendant of the Sanskrit suffix त्य; Damle<sup>3</sup> and Rājwāde<sup>4</sup> follow him. The difficulty in the latter case is, that the त्य is in Sanskrit added to certain indeclinables only. There would be some difficulty in deriving चा, ची from ईय through इज्ज, ज्ज, like the Sindhi जो, जी. Still there is the satisfaction that ईय is a nominal suffix. It is curious to note that the Yādava inscription of Nagaon, dated A. D. 1367 shows both जा and चा. Pātan inscr. of 1208, however, has *uniformly* चा.

g. अंधारेन is the usual instrumental. We have changed the termination into नें by a simple transposition; other forms are जाणतेन, मागिलेन.

The Hindī and Gujarātī too have made the same change. This is primarily a pronominal termination, borrowed by nouns in अ even in Sanskrit. The Gujarātī has preserved it in some of the pronouns like तेणें, जेणें. The word अंधार is from the original अंधकार, through अंधआर. Here we find that even so much as one whole syllable is lost; this is a phenomenon called *syncope*.

Rājwāde<sup>5</sup> says "In short, in modern Marāṭhī the Instr. sing. was formed from the Instr. pl." पुत्तेहिं, पुत्तेन्हि, पूतेनि पूतानिं-पूतानिं gives the plural. Then पूतां becoming पूता and निं becoming नें, we get the sing. पूतानें! This is a piece of very subtle logic, to say the least of it. He has changed since 1912, in a criticism on Damle's grammar, and accepted the Sanskrit न, एन as termination of the Instr. sing. Rājwāde's etymologies are in most cases very hasty.

- 
1. नवीन मराठी व्याकरण p. 63.
  2. Philological Lectures p. 257.
  3. शास्त्रीय मराठी व्याकरण p. 347.
  4. ज्ञानेश्वरीतील मराठी भाषेचें व्याकरण p. 14.
  5. Dnyaneshwari Grammar p. 26.

Now what have we learnt from a detailed examination of all these words? We have learnt, (1) that there is phonetic change in the body of a word, whereby it is understood that the meaning is not changed, *e. g.* अंधार, थाव, रुख etc; (2) that there is formantic change or a change in the terminations etc. *e. g.* संवसार, जाणै, थावला, अंधारेन and (3) that there is change in meaning, it being understood, that all the while, the form is supposed to be one and the same, ह्यणौनि, भेलें. It should not be supposed, that both these changes might never take place together. (4) Lastly, there is change in the syntax. The whole passage shows a departure from our modern sentence form.

**13. The causes of change:—**What then are the causes of the change that leaves no unit of the sentence—the sound, the syllable, the word, and the sentence itself—untouched? What leads to phonetic change, as well in the root form as in the formantic element of a word? Why should the meaning of words undergo transformation?

A reply to this question, so far as phonetic change is concerned, is already indicated in the beginning. The very fact of the aquisition of language presupposes change; for no generation can take up a language from its predecessors in exactly the same outward form. This change might be caused in the production of speech by one individual, as also in the transmission of speech from one individual to another. (1) In imitation therefore there is a potent cause for change. But, as we have seen, an individual also imitates himself, when he is engaged in the production of speech. This, Oertel calls *intra-individual* imitation. (2) On the analogy of certain known forms certain others are produced. Analogy based upon association, is the second cause of change. If the former cause is



mainly physiological—for much depended on the power of the individual's ear in properly hearing sounds and upon the power of his eye in noticing the positions of the speech organs, and thirdly upon the speech-organs themselves, which reproduced the observed positions,—this latter is psychological. Besides the examples already quoted from child language, others may be added. एकादश, for instance, owes its long vowel आ to द्वादश, where it is legitimate as being a dual form, with which the former is associated. Of this more below. (3) Accent is another factor which causes change. The shifting of accents backwards or forwards, causes the loss of whole syllables; *e. g.* Fr. *frere* which is the poor remnant of Latin *frater*. The Marāṭhī अठंगळें is the remnant of the Sk. अष्टमांगल्य; वाहाण through पाहाणओ of उपानहो; or in the above passage अंधार of अंधकार. Other causes like general conditions of culture, mixture of races, conquest, mixture of dialects etc. may cause change. But compared with the above, they are not very potent. Because even where race mixture, conquest and such other cultural conditions are absent, we see that constant change is going on in language. The Dravidian languages, comparatively at peace and safe from foreign invasion for a long period, are a good case in point.

*a.* **Physiological and acoustic causes of change:**—All change proceeds along certain lines. For reasons already explained (the psycho-physical disposition of the individual of a community speaking one language, is at any one period in the life of that language generally the same), any change in the body of a form or its ending (phonetic and morphological change) spreads itself evenly over all similar forms and endings. This is, as we have already pointed out, due to the transmission of language from one individual to another and from one generation to another generation.



This transference can only be the transference of the sounds, not of the accompanying physical and psychical processes. These belong to every individual separately. When the hearer's sounds correspond to those of the speaker, then only is the former said to speak correctly. When a similar sound is produced, we can safely infer, that the motory sensation preceding it is also the same. It is, however, possible to produce an almost similar sound by different movements of the speech organs; it must, therefore, be admitted as possible, that the motory sensations (feeling of movement) of a hearer are a bit differently formed from those of the speaker. It is chiefly owing to this that the sound of *t* and *t* is so similar, although their articulation is different. It is the motory sensation<sup>1</sup> which principally determines the production of a sound; *ease* plays a very insignificant part.

When a change, thus produced by an individual speaker in an individual form, spreads itself over similar forms in the whole language, it becomes a regular change. It is this regularity of the change, as also of the preservation of the old material, that makes linguistic study possible. The rules deduced from such a uniform change or preservation are called *phonetic laws*. When, for instance, a certain sound in a word is kept on or undergoes change, this also happens in all similar words under the same conditions; e.g. the Sanskrit initial *स* is preserved in Mar. words like सात, साडे, सर्व from Sanskrit सप्त, सार्द्ध, सर्व; but in certain Gujarāṭī dialects it becomes ह, e. g. हात and हाडा. The initial Sanskrit *व* which is preserved in Mar. words like वीस, विष, वाघ, बेत, becomes in Hindī व as बीस, बिस्, बाघ or ब्याघ, बेत. If the

---

1. Paul, Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte p. 57.

cause for the former change, Sk. स into Guj. ह, is mainly physiological—the stop of the breath at the hard gums in pronouncing the sibilant which is already loose and lets the breath pass away sideways, becomes still looser or is completely removed and we get the aspirate—the cause of the latter change, of the Sk. व into Hindī and Bengali व, is more acoustic than physiological. The same is the case when Germans try to pronounce the English *th* in *the, there, that*; they say *ze, zere, zat* and believe that they have rightly pronounced the word. The same probably happens when a Japanese always substitutes an *l* for *r* in foreign words. The basis of articulation (*i. e.* structure and position of the speech organs) in his case has so altered itself, that he can not physiologically distinguish between the two sounds and his ear also has got so accustomed to the *l*, that it makes no difference between *l* and *r*. The Muni-cian confusion between *p* and *b*, mentioned above, is also a good example. The ear and the basis of articulation are thus both interfering with each other in changes like the two above.

14. What is phonetic law:—The phonetic change indicated above is caused by a change in the conditions of the production of the respective sounds. When, for instance, the original medial aspirate is always seen in Greek to change into a tenuis aspirate *e.g.* Sk. नमस्, Gr. νέφους; Sk. अतिर Gr. φράτωρ; Sk. भजति, Gr. φάγειν; Sk. वर्षति, Gr. θάπτω; Sk. मयु, Gr. μέθυ; we infer that different representation of the same sound in two languages is due to causes that we call physiological, and we make the generalization, that original medial aspirates are always in Greek changed to tenuis aspirates. This generalization of a regular phenomenon in language we call *phonetic law*. We make the same generalization when we observe correspondences like Sk. भरति, Lat. *ferō*; Sk.

भवति, Lat. *fuam*, *futurus*; Sk. धुर्मः, Lat. *fūmus*; Sk. ध्वयति, धेना, Lat. *fē-lare*, *fēminu*; only, in the two latter cases the place of articulation or स्थान is changed in the old Italic dialects, so that the dental ध has become the labial फ. A comparison of Sk. तु-भ्यम् and Lat. *ti-bi*, Sk. रुधिर and Lat. *rubros*, Sk. इध (original of इह) and Lat. *ibi*, Sk. नभस् and Lat. *nebul*, enables us to generalise, that even the ten. aspirate representing the original medial aspirate, is shifted in Latin to a simple medial *between two vowels*. Thus the original law is modified by a change in the surroundings of the original sound. Conversely, comparison of Lat. *for-es* and Sk. द्वार, Lat. *fortis* and Sk. दृढ, Lat. *of-fendimentum* and Sk. बन्धः, shows that the ten. aspirate, Latin representative of the original medial aspirate, finds in Sk. a medial to represent it; the Sk. form must, therefore, have been धृढ, ध्वार, भन्ध in consonance with the original law. That the roots गृध्, बुध्, बध्, दम्, दह्, and others, must have originally begun with a med. asp. which was displaced before the following med. asp. or ह् in the body of the word, is shown by comparison with Goth. *gredus*, Eng. *greed*; Goth. *biudan*, Ger. *bieten*; Germ. *binden*; Arm. *davel*; Goth. *dags*, Eng. *day*, and others whose initial corresponds to an original med. aspirate. Even some Sk. forms of these roots throw light on this fact; e. g. अभोत्सीत् (बुध्), अभान्त्सीत् (बन्ध्), अधक् (Vedic of दह्) Pr. ढञ्जति for दह् is also eloquent. We therefore put forward the law, that in Sk. a medial aspirate becomes a medial, when followed by a medial aspirate in the same word. This is *dissimilation* of which we have to speak later on.

Coming to the Aryan group, we compare Sk. त्वम् and Av. *θwam*, Sk. त्रि and Av. *θri*, Sk. मित्र, Av. *Miθra*, Sk. चत्वारः Av. *caθwara* and find that in Avesta a dental spirant corresponds to the Sk. tenuis. The Sk. स in सप्त, सत्य, सिन्धु etc., is represented by the aspirate *h*, as in *hapta*, *haiθya*,

*hindu* in the Avesta. In this the Greek agrees with the Avesta; e. g. ἑπτά, ἑδοσ Sk. सद्स. Compare हगडा, हाडा and हात of vulgar Gujarātī.

a. Grimm's law or sound shifting :—The Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and Slavonic languages have generally preserved the consonants as they originally were, except local changes indicated above. But the Germanic languages show a wholesale change, as the following equations will show :

1 Tenuēs.

Sk.	Gr.	Lat.	Goth.	Germ.	Eng.
पशुः		<i>pecus</i>	<i>faihu</i>	<i>vich</i>	<i>fee</i>
नपात्		<i>nepos</i>		<i>neffe</i>	<i>nephew</i>
तृणम्			<i>paurnus</i>	<i>dorn</i>	<i>thorn</i>
वर्तते		<i>verto</i>	<i>wairpan</i>	<i>werden</i>	
त्रयः		<i>trēs</i>	<i>preis</i>	<i>drei</i>	<i>three</i>
शुनः	<i>κυνός</i>		<i>hunds</i>	<i>hund</i>	<i>hound</i>
(स् for old क्)					
दिशति	<i>δείκνυμι</i>		<i>gateihan</i>	<i>zeigen</i>	
कः		<i>quod</i>	<i>hwas</i>	<i>was</i>	<i>what</i> <sup>1</sup>

Asp. Sk.	Gr.	Angs.	Germ.	Eng.
फेन		<i>fam</i>	<i>feim</i>	<i>foam</i>
	<i>θρέξομαι</i>		Goth. <i>pragjan</i>	<i>thrall</i>
( <i>kh</i> )			„ <i>haban</i>	<i>have.</i>

We see therefore that the original ten. and the ten. aspirates have fallen together in the old Germanic language and are represented alike by hard spirants; i. e. *p*, *t*, *k*, and *ph*, *th*, *kh*, are represented by old Germanic (e. g. Gothic) spirants *f*, *p*, *χ*. (pron. *ch*).

1. The pronunciation of this word is still true to its genesis. We pronounce it properly as *hwat*.

## 2 Mediae.

Sk.		Lat.	Goth.	Germ.	Eng.
		<i>duco</i>	<i>tiuhan</i>	<i>ziehen</i>	<i>draw</i>
	Lith.	<i>dubus</i>	<i>diups</i>	<i>tief</i>	<i>deep</i>
दश		<i>decem</i>	<i>taihun</i>	<i>zehn</i>	<i>ten</i>
जानु	Gr.	<i>ῥόνυ</i>	<i>kniu</i>	<i>kuie</i>	<i>knee</i>
अञ्रः	„	<i>ἀγρός</i>	<i>akrs</i>	...	<i>acre</i>
युग्म्	„	<i>zygón</i>	<i>juk</i>	<i>joch</i>	<i>yoke</i>

## Asp.

भरामि	Gr.	<i>φερεῖν</i>	<i>bairan</i>		<i>bear</i>
(वसु) धितिः	„	<i>θεσις</i>	<i>ga-dēds</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>deed</i>
हंसः (ह = च)	„	<i>χῆν</i>	<i>O.G.H. gans gans</i>		<i>goose</i>
वहामि	Lat.	<i>veho</i>	<i>gawigan</i>	<i>bewegen</i>	<i>weigh.</i>

This is called sound shifting, in German *Laut-verschiebung*, of the Germanic languages, or after its discoverer Grimm, simply Grimm's law. This, however, is only the first sound shifting, which took place even before the Christian era, as certain references of the old Roman historians show. There was another sound shifting, which appears to have taken place after the Anglo-Saxons separated from their North-German cousins, about the seventh or eighth century.

b. *Second sound shifting*:—If we cast a glance at the last three columns of the examples for the first shifting according to Grimm, we shall find, that in most cases the Gothic or other forms of the old Germanic, correspond to the Anglo-Saxon and English forms but that the German forms *i. e.* High-German forms, disagree.



Goth. has	<i>þaurus</i>	Eng. <i>thorn</i>	but Germ. <i>dorn</i>
	<i>þreis</i>	<i>three</i>	<i>drei</i>
	<i>ga-teihan</i>		<i>zeigen</i>
	<i>dags</i>	<i>day</i>	<i>tag</i>
	<i>helpan</i>	<i>help</i>	<i>helfen</i>
	<i>plegen</i>	<i>play</i>	<i>pflegen</i>

This leads us to formulate the law, that old Germanic *p*, *t*, *k*, become the affricates *pf*, *tʃ*, (written *z*), *kχ* (written *ch*), and the hard spirants *f*, *þ*, and *χ* become soft spirants *ǃ*, *ǣ*, and *z* (which last disappears intervocalically). This is called the *second sound shifting*. The Anglo-Saxon escaped this shifting, as did certain *Low German* dialects. This is an important fact. Thereby we know the limitations of phonetic laws. They have thus got a time limit as well as a place limit, and we have, therefore, to be very cautious in formulating them. When we, therefore, put forward a phonetic law, we have to indicate all its limitations. It is, in fact, nothing more or less, than generalization based upon observed linguistic facts and holding good *under stated conditions only*.

c. **Verner's law**:—To quote one more example, where the conditions are slightly different from what we have already spoken of. पितृ, Gr. πατήρ, Lat. *pater* becomes in Goth. *ƿadar*, where indeed we expect a *þ* in place of *d*, as in Goth. *broþar* which corresponds to Sk. ब्र॑ता, Lat. *frater* etc. In old days it was thought to be an irregularity and left unaccounted for. But when the idea of phonetic law was formulated and began to be scrutinised, people were not satisfied with saying that it was an irregularity, but wanted to trace the reason. And it was found out by Verner, who, on observing other similar cases, e. g. Goth. *sibun*, Sk. स॒प्त; Goth. *halsagga* अ॒र्कः, *haidus* (Germ.-heit) Sk. हेतुः, O.H.G. *swigar*, Sk. श॒श्रू where

श represents old क, put forth another law, a corollary to Grimm's law, that the hard spirants *f, p, χ* in the middle or end of words became soft, only when the original Indo-Germanic accent was not on the immediately preceding syllable. This is what is called Verner's law, after its discoverer.

We have been dealing upto now with what is called phonetic change as such, and then too of consonants. This change is not at all affected by the character of the neighbouring sounds and is therefore called *Unbedingter Lautwandel* or unconditional phonetic change.

*d. Unconditional phonetic change:*—We shall now take examples of vowel change from the Aryan group.

I. When we compare *e. g.* Sk. भ॑रामि which shows an अ in the first syllable with Gr. φέρω, Lat. *fero*, Arm. *berim*, Got. *baira* and Old Scl. *bera*; Sk. अ॑हम् Av. *azem*, with Gr. ἐγώ, Lat. *ego*, Arm. *es*, Goth. *ik*; or Sk. अ॑श्वः Av. *aspah* with Lat. *equos* Goth. *aihwa*, we find that Indo-Aryan अ is, in these and other cases, represented by *e* in all the other languages of the great family; see also Sk. अ॑स्ति, Lat. *esti*, Goth. *ist*.

∴ Sk. and Av. अ = *e* in the other Indg. languages.

II. Taking other words:—

Sk. अ॑विः	Lat. <i>ovis</i>	Gr. οἰς	O. Ir. <i>oi</i> .
„ अष्टौ	„ <i>octo</i>	„ ὀκτώ	„ <i>ocht</i> .
„ कः	„ <i>quod</i>	„ πόν-θεν	
„ भर॑न्ति	„ ...	„ φέρουσι	O. Per. <i>barantiy</i> .
(for <i>onti</i> of Dor. φέροντι)			
„ अ॑सचत	„ <i>sequitur</i>	„ εἰπετο	
„ त॑द्	„ <i>is-tud</i>	„ τό	Goth. <i>pata</i> .
„ ई॒कः		„ λίκος	

We can formulate our law thus :—Indo-Aryan अ is in some words represented by *o* in most of the other Indo-Germanic languages ; only the Germanic showing a similarity with the Sanskrit.

∴ Sk. and Av. अ = *o* in the other Indg. languages except Germanic.

e. g. Sk. जम्भः	Gr. γόμφος	but Goth <i>chamb</i>
„ दर्दशे	„ δέδορκε	but „ <i>band</i> (perf. of <i>bindan</i> )
„ भेरन्ति	Gr. Dor. φέροντι	but „ <i>bairand</i>

III. And lastly comparing

Sk. अजति	Gr. ἄγω	Lat. <i>ago</i>	Arm. <i>acem</i>	O. Ir. <i>agat</i>
„ (चतुर्) अश्र	„ ἄκροσ	„ <i>acus</i>		
„ अनिति	„ ἀνεμος	„ <i>animus</i>	Goth. <i>us-anan</i>	
„ अज्रः	„ ἄγρόσ	„ <i>ager</i>	„ <i>akrs</i>	E. <i>acre</i>
„ अश्मन्	„ ἄσμων	Av. <i>asman</i>		

and so on, we find that the Indo-Aryan अ is also represented by an *a* in the other languages of the family. Thus we find that an Indo-Aryan अ finds in the other languages some times *e*, sometimes *o*, and sometimes *a* to represent it. The same is the case with आ.

IV. Sk. आदिवः Gr. ἐδεῖν Lat. *edimus*

„ प्रार्तः (p p. „ πλῆτο „ ...  
of प्रा to fill)

„ मास् „ μῆν „ *mēnsis* Goth. *mena*. E.

„ स्नावन् „ ἵημα „ *nēmen* „ *nepla* *needle*

∴ आ = *ē* in other Indg. languages

V. Sk. ददाति Gr. δίδωσι Lat. *dōnum*

„ द्वि „ δύω „ *duo*

„ प्रार्तः „ πρωι, Osk. (Italian O. H. G. *fruo*.  
(morning) dialect) *prūterpan*

∴ आ = *ō* in the Western Indg. languages.

VI. Sk. मात॑र्	Gr. ( <i>Dor</i> ) μάτηρ	Lat. <i>māter</i>	Old Ir. <i>māthir</i>
„ स्वा॑दुः	„ ἄδύς ἡδύς	„ <i>suāvis</i>	„ ...
„ भ्रा॑त॑र्	„ φράτωρ	„ <i>frāter</i>	„ <i>brāthir</i>
. . आ = <i>ā</i> in Gr. Lat. and other Western Languages.			

When the science of philology was in its infancy, it was believed by scholars like Bopp, Grimm and others, that the vowels in the Indo-Aryan branch represented the old conditions and that the single and simple अ split up later into three vowels *a*, *e*, *o*.

For a long time this view was accepted as the correct one. But such a phenomenon was after all unprecedented in the life of any language and younger philologists like Ame-lung, Brugmann and Collitz, disbelieving it, tried to show, that the Greek language had preserved the original vowels in their entirety and therefore presented a more faithful picture of the primitive Indo-German vocalism than did Sanskrit.

They based their conclusions chiefly on the following grounds:—Firstly a splitting up of the *a* into *a*, *e*, and *o* can not be phonetically proved; secondly, in those cases where Indo-Aryan अ corresponds to Greek *e*, there appears before that vowel a palatal instead of a guttural; *e. g.*

Sk. च, Gr. τε (the *t* for *kw* for certain<sup>1</sup> reasons in Greek.)

Sk. स॑च॒ते, Gr. ἑ॒πεται, Lat. *sequor*; Sk. चि॑त्तिः atonement, Gr. τίσις; ποι॑νή, Av. *kaena*, Old. Bul. *cena* fine; Sk. चि॑त्, Gr. τί, Lat. *quid*; Sk. ज॑न॒सू, Gr. γένος; Sk. च॒त्वारः, Gr. τέτταρες; Sk. प॑ञ्च, Gr. πέντε, Lat. *quinque*.

---

1. Hirt, Handbuch der Griechischen Laut und Formen Lehre p. 202. The Indoger. labiovelar *kw* = Lat. *qu*, Got. *hw*, Sk. क॒orच, Old Bul. *k* or *c*. Lith. *k*, but Greek π, where the labial character predominates and *a* before *e*, and *i*.

But when the अ corresponds to Gr. Lat. etc. *a* or *o*, this change does not take place; Sk. कर्तृः, Gr. ποτερος, Lat. *quod*; Sk. कटः, Pruss. *kortos*, (Eng. *court*); Sk. कविः, Lat. *cruor*, Ger. *roh*; Sk. कर्कः, कर्कटः, Gr. καρκίνος, Lat. *cancer*.

These correspondences show, that originally, Sk. अ which showed in Gr., Lat. etc. an *e*, was not the same as the अ which stood for Gr. and Lat. etc. *a* or *o*; and that in the primitive Indo-Aryan period, it had almost an *इ* colouring, because the palatalization of original gutturals only takes place before इ or यू. This change from gutturals to palatals under certain conditions, is discovered in the Sanskrit language itself. In the perfect, where the reduplication vowel is *e*, e. g. Gr. *τέδορκα*, *γέγωνα*, Lat. *tetigi*, we have in Sk. a palatal in the reduplicative syllable, but a guttural in the original reduplicated syllable; e. g. Sk. चर्कार, जर्गाम, जघान, etc.

A similar phenomenon is observable before the suffix अ which does not correspond to *e* in Gr. and Lat. It shows the original guttural before it; e. g. शुचिः but शुर्कः, रोचते, लोचन, but रोक and लोक; ओजस् but उर्जः. This is the celebrated *palatal law* in Sanskrit.

It must be remembered that the *e* and *o* are simple vowels and not diphthongs like Sk. ए and ओ. It is, however, remarkable, that the Prākrits, unlike the Sk., should appear to possess the simple vowels<sup>1</sup> *e*, *o*. The *e* appears before conjuncts to represent Sk. *a*, *i* or *e*; Pr. एथ, Sk. इत्था; Mar. पेण्ड, Sk. पिण्ड; Pr. गेण्हइ, Sk. गृह्णाति; Pr. तेत्तीस, Sk. त्रयस्त्रिंशत्. In the same way the *o* of Prākrits represents Sk. उ before conjuncts. Mar. तोण्ड, Sk. तुण्ड; सोण्ड, शुण्ड; Pr. पोख्खर, पुष्कर;

1. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen* p. 47. Jacobi, *Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī* p. xxi.



मोगर (Mar. मोगर), मुद्रर. Long *i* and long *ū* are also likewise represented in the Prākritis; जाणेज्जा (Mar. जाणिजे) for जानीयात्; कोप्पर for कूर्पर, मोल्ल for मूल्य.

The change of the original *e*, *o* into Sk. अ is an *unconditional* change and the change of the gutturals into palatals consequent upon the change of *e* into अ, is a *conditional* change. As further examples of *unconditional* change ought to be quoted Pr. पीढ, Coll. Mar. पिढें, Sk. पीठ; मिग, Sk. मृग; हियय, Mar. हिया, Sk. हृदय; वेरग, Sk. वैराग्य. सीह, Sk. सिंह and अंसु, Sk. अश्रु show us that as far as quantity went, a long and a nasalized vowel were regarded as equal. But there is no acknowledged condition or cause of such a change.

The consonantal changes referred to previously and the vowel changes now referred to, are called unconditional changes. Brugmann<sup>1</sup> defines unconditional change thus: "Unconditional phonetic change is the change which an individual sound undergoes, without the determining influence of the particular kind of the accompanying sounds, or the accent, or the language rhythm, while conditional change is where such influences take place".

(e) **Conditional phonetic change:**—Suitableness of place of a sound in a word-initial, medial, final-accent, contact of two words in a sentence or सन्धि etc, influence of neighbouring sounds, make what are called conditional changes.

(1) In Greek, for example, consonants at the end of a word fall out, with the exception of *ν*, *σ*, *ρ*: Gr. ἐφερε. Sk. अमरत् but Gr. ἐφερον-अमरन्. The Sanskrit does not suffer two consonants to stand at the end of a word, with

1. Kurze Vergleichende Grammatik p. 38.

the exception of *k*, *t* *d* and *t*, when they follow a *r* in the Vedic language<sup>1</sup>: वर्क् 3rd sing. Aorist of वृज्, उर्क् nom. sing. of ऊर्ज्, अमार्द्, अमार्द्, आवर्त् 3rd sing. Aorist of वृत्, सुहार्त् for सुहार्द्. Examples for the rule are: वर्क् (वार्क् + स्), क्रीडन् (क्रीडन्त् + स्) अमरन् (from अमरन्त्).

The Prākrits (Māhārāṣṭrī particularly) like the Gr. do not at all allow a consonant to stand at the end of a word: पच्छा, Sk. पश्चात्, जाव-यावत्, पुण-पुनर्, सम्मं-सन्त्यक्. The nasals become अनुस्वार.

The Prākrits change an initial ऋ to रि or sometimes to रु, रिण ( Mar. रीण )—ऋण, रिण्व ( Mar. रीस )—ऋक्ष, रुण्व ( Mar. महा-रुण्व )—वृक्ष.

(2) Many changes in sounds are dependent upon accent. *e. g.* Goth. *fadar* for पितर् but *broþar* for भ्रातर्. Verner's law is a great illustration of this class. The change of Indo-Germanic tenues *p, t, k*, into sounding spirants *b, d, g* instead of into *f, þ, h*, as we expect according to the law of sound shifting called Grimm's law, is entirely dependent upon accent. Original *p, t, k*, become the sounding spirants *b, d, g* (h, x) only if the preceding sonant does not bear the accent *e. g.* Got. *hund*, Sk. शतम्; O. H. G. *Swigar*, Sk. श्वश्रूः.

What is called *ablaut*<sup>2</sup> or vowel gradation, a phenomenon which played a great part in the formative period of most of the Indo-German languages, is held by scholars to depend entirely upon accent. *Ablaut* means the change, qualitative or quantitative, of the vowel phenomenon between related words or parts of words; *e. g.* πέτομαι, ποτάομαι, ἐπτόμεν.

1. Macdonell, Vedic Grammar p. 61.

2. Meringer, Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft p. 88 ff.

Here the medial form of the present shows *e* under accent, and the variant *o* before it, and is altogether dropped when it is further removed. These are called the *e*, the *o* and the nill grades.

δέρκομαι, δέδορκα, ἔδρακον

Sk. ददर्श, दृष्ट

This gives *ep*, *op*, *p*, *i. e.* nill as the grades.

The series of forms showing *e* or *o* are called the strong and the series showing *i*, *u*, *l*, *r*, or nill the weak grade. Diphthongs too show the gradation. Thus there would be,

Strong grade.	Weak grade.
<i>e</i> : <i>o</i>	<i>nill</i>
<i>ei</i> : <i>oi</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>eu</i> : <i>ou</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>em</i> : <i>om</i>	<i>m</i>
<i>en</i> : <i>on</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>er</i> : <i>or</i>	<i>r</i>
<i>el</i> : <i>ol</i>	<i>l</i>

Examples:

Gr. <sup>1</sup> πέδα	πόδα	ἐπίβδα
(f) <i>eidomai</i>	(f) <i>oída</i>	(f) <i>íd-eiv</i>
...	वेद	विद्म
πατέρες	απάτορες	πατρός
पितरः	त्पितारः T. S.	पित्रा, पितृषु
φέρω	φόρος	δίφρος
भरे	बभार	(श्व)-भ्र, बिभ्रति, भृतिः

1. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik I. 61 ff.

*est*

अस्ति

*sunt*

सन्ति (where dropping of the अ is weak grade)

पपात

पप्तिम (classical पतिम)

नपात्

नप्ति Vedic.

*nepos*

जनस्

जजानि

जज्ञे

γένος

γένονα

γένοναι

चत्वारः

तुरीय (for कृतुरीय)

*Add :—*

एमि

इमः

दर्दरी

ददरुः

बिभराणि

बिभृहि

In the same category fall changes called संप्रसारण. The Sk. grammarians were conscious of this vowel-gradation above spoken of. Some modern scholars therefore call this *Ablaut* simply संप्रसारण.

य, व, र,	changed to	इ, उ, ऋ
यष्टवे, यज्ञ	„ „	इष्ट
वक्तवे	„ „	उक्त
ग्रमे	„ „	गृमे, गृहीत
सुत्राप	„ „	सुषुप्वास्
वष्टि	„ „	उष्मसि
स्वप्नः	„ „	Gr. <i>ὑπνος</i> O. Sl. <i>snǫ</i>
वर्चस्	„ „	उल्का

Other examples of संप्रसारण under the influence of accent are

वक्षस्,

उक्षा, उक्षति.

अवसन्,

उस, उषस्

वरीयस्, वरिष्ठ	उरुं
(सं) वत्सर Gr. <i>Fétos</i>	परुत्, <i>πέπουσι</i>
स्वर्धा, स्वर्धित	सु-Cl. सुधा
रजिः, रजिष्ठ	ऋजु, ऋजति
प्रथति	पृथिवी, पृथु
चत्वारः	चतुरः
स्वन्	सुनः

Wackernagel has put together quite a number of examples of gradation of vowels under the influence of accent.

(3) The गुण and वृद्धि phenomenon, according to which the same root or stem, either in accordance with its meaning or the kind of formation, shows now an इ, उ, ऋ, लृ, or य, व, र, लृ, now an ए, ओ, अर्, अलृ, and now an ऐ, औ, आर्, आलृ, was observed and properly understood by our old grammarians. The same was also acknowledged by philologists to belong to the primitive Indo-germanic language and was, together with संप्रसारण, by them called *ablaut*. The change between गुण or वृद्धि and the simple or basic vowel depends almost exclusively upon accent. And, as a general rule, the syllable of the stem under accent shows गुण, the syllable before the accent however only shows the simple vowel.

एमि, एषि, एति	: इमः, इथ, यन्ति
आप्नेमि, आप्नेषि, आप्नेति	: आप्नुम, आप्नुथ, आप्नुवन्ति.
ददर्श, ददर्शित्थ, ददर्श	: ददृशिम, ददृश, ददृशुः
वर्धाय	: वृर्धाय.
दिद्वेष्ट	: दिद्विष्ट.



A few exceptions, like the weak form with ऋ under accent, *e. g.* वृक, can be explained as partly due to the transference of the vowel from related forms and partly to the shifting of the accent. The theories, that some function was expressed by the गुण of the basic vowel, or that the suffixes caused that change, are only interesting from the antiquarian's point of view.

(4) Phonetic change also takes place in a syllable of a word owing to the influence of another syllable.

In Lat. *quinque*, the first syllable owes its labio-velar to the influence of the last syllable. Sk. ऋष्यः owes its initial ऋ to the second one, as words like Lat. *socer*, O.H.G. *swigar* show. The former is an example of the influence of a whole syllable upon another. But simple sounds affect other simple sounds, as in Gr. *ei*, which becomes *ee* = *ē*, *ou*, *oo* = *ō*. Vowels affect vowels, as in O.H.G. *gesti* for Goth. *gasti*, where *i* has affected *a* and consonants as in Gr. *σι* which comes from *ti*; in Gr. *te* Indog. *qwe*; *o* palatalises the labio-velar in *quo* which becomes *πo*. Consonants also affect consonants, as in Gr. *omma* for *οπμα*; Sk. ऊर्णा, Lith. *vilna*, Goth. *wulla*, Ger. *wolle*. These are called *combinatory changes*.

(5) *Assimilation*.—We shall however speak only of changes represented by O.H.G. *gesti* fr. Goth. *gasti*, Pr. सिविण through सुविण from स्वप्न and Lat. *quinque* from *pinque*. These are called changes due to *assimilation*. This is of two kinds (a) either *progressive*, when an earlier sound or syllable affects a later one; *e. g.* स्तृणोति where the previous ऋ has affected the original dental न and changed it to cerebral ण. This has been recognised by पाणिनि and generalised in the सूत्र, षाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे and by prakritists like Jacobi<sup>1</sup>.

1. Jacobi, Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī p. xxxi.

Pr. चक्र (Mar. चाक) from Sk. चक्र shows progressive assimilation. वज्र from वज्र, चच्चर from चत्वर, सवत्ती (Mar. सवत) from सपत्नी, अत्ता (also अप्पा) from आत्मन्, मुक्क-मुक्त, वेरग-वैराग्य, अग्गी (Mar. आग)-अग्नि, तक्क (Mar. ताक)-तक्क, वच्च (Mar. वाच) from व्याघ्र, गम्भ (Mar. गाभा, गाम्भ) from गर्भ, show the great effect of this law in Prākritis ; or,

(b) *regressive*, when a following sound or syllable affects a previous one and lends it its own character; e. g. It. *otto*, *Vittorio*, for Lat. *octo*, *Victorio*, *quinque* for *pinque*; Pr. कज्ज (Mar. काज) for Sk. कार्य where the र assimilates itself to the य, which is palatalised. Sk. श्वशुर from original स्वशुर, shown by *ἐκυρόσ*, Lat. *socer*, Goth. *swaihra* etc.; Sk. श्मश्रू, Old Ir. *smech*. छिन्न, अन्न, from छिद् + न and अद् + न are other examples of regressive assimilation. Pr. सिविण through सुविण from स्वप्न ; उच्छ (Mar. ऊंस)-इक्षु, सथ-सार्थ.

The explanation of the fact is not very difficult. Although a word or sentence is produced by a succession of articulatory movements, still, so far as the speaker is concerned, he has the idea of the whole in his consciousness the moment he begins a word or sentence. He has the apperception of the sound and its meaning together in a uniform simultaneous act. When, therefore, an assimilation takes place, the process is something like this. An individual sound-idea, which has got some sort of superiority over another, gets into the place of that other, and thereby the articulatory movement which corresponds to the former, pushes itself into the place of the other.

A law of assimilation has been postulated for the Prākritis by Bollensen, according to which मिअतिण्हा or मअतण्हा would represent Sk. मृगतृष्णिका; i. e. if तृष्णा be changed in Pr. to तण्हा, the word मृग before it will have an अ by assimilation, but if it be तिण्हा, then मृग would be मिअ. This, however, Pischel rightly points out, cannot be insisted upon, as the

grammarians and the texts give now one form and now another. Thus, for instance, we have both मअंक, मिअंक and a third मियंक for मृगांक. We also have मग for मृग, but मिअआ for मृगया. अण्ण for अन्य and कल्ल for कल्य are other examples.

(6) *Dissimilation* :—The opposite of this is dissimilation. Sometimes two similar sounds are instinctively avoided, by displacement or change of one of them. It can be both progressive, and regressive like assimilation.

Our Prākṛits abound in the second class of dissimilation. मउड, Sk. मुकुट, गरुअ (*e. g.* गरवी गुजरात)—गुरुक, नेउर-नूपुर, पुरिस-पुरुष, नांगल (Mar. नांगर)—लांगल; Gr. *Θηλητηρ* for *Θηρητηρ*, Lat. *celebrum* for *cerebrum*. Examples of the first, where a similar sound is lost are: वध्र Vedic, for वध्र, Gr. *φαιρία* from *φραιρία*, नद्धयः from नद्धयः dat. plu. of नपात्; तिष्ठति, तस्थौ from स्था; चस्कन्द from स्कन्द—in fact all reduplicatives of conjuncts.

It is interesting to note that the Latin shows in the reduplicative syllable the full conjunct; *e. g.* as against तिष्ठति, तस्थौ, Lat. has *spopondi* to *spondere*, *steti*, to *stare* *scicidi* to *scindo*. Yet it has not escaped the law of dissimilation. The same phenomenon, with a slight change, is seen in intensives in colloquial Marāṭhī, म-मरुन to classical मरमरुन, मा-मारुन to classical मारमारुन. Of course forms like घे-घेऊन, खा-खाऊन which show the regular reduplication of the monosyllable, must have had influenced such formations as म-मरुन. Nothing need be said of contact of words in sentences or of stems and terminations, known as the सन्धि phenomenon. It is familiar to Sk. students. We find there some kind of assimilation हरि + इच्छा = हरीच्छा or जगत् + जीर्णता = जगज्जीर्णता due to associative interference.

Before closing this branch of the subject, we have to deal with certain phenomena of sounds, without which this topic would be incomplete.

(7) *Prothesis*:—We find that in some languages certain vowels are developed before certain consonants. The Greek, for instance, has an *e* before words beginning with sounds like *r*, *n*, *m*, *w*; Sk. रुधिर, Lat. *ruber*, Ger. *roth*, Eng. *red*, but Gr. ἐρυθρός; Sk. रजः, Goth. *riquis*, Gr. ῥεβος; Sk. लघु, Lat. *levis*, but Gr. ἐλαχύς; Sk. नृ, Gr. ἀνήρ; Germ. *melken*, Lat. *mulgeo*, but Gr. ἀμέλω; Sk. नख, Gr. ὄνυχ, नामन्, Gr. ὄνομα.

Our Pr. इथिया, इथी from Sk. स्त्री is a good example. In Panjab and U. P. people still say इथी, इस्कूल. In colloquial kunbi Marāṭhī we have अस्नान for स्नान, अस्तुरी for स्त्री. Probably a difficulty was felt in pronouncing the conjunct with an initial sibilant, and as a sort of balance a vowel was pre-pronounced. Mohomedans always say इस्कूल, इस्टेशन, इस्टांटर्ड, इस्पीक, for स्कूल etc. The French *ecole* for Lat. *schola* shows the same thing. This phenomenon is called *prothesis*.

(8) *Anaptyxis*:—Another similar phenomenon is the insertion of a vowel between combination of sounds, which are difficult to pronounce. Gr. ἑβδομος from old ἑβδμος. English *elm* is actually pronounced *elem*. This is called स्वरभक्ति *anaptyxis*. In some hymns of the R̥gveda, इन्द्र becomes tryssyllabic, इंदर, दर्शत-दरशत. This is very common in colloquial language; Mar. परकार for प्रकार, भरम for भ्रम, इपर for विप्र. पृथिवी and पृथ्वी, सुवर् and स्वर, सुवर्ण and स्वर्ण are cases where both forms are current in the Sanskrit language. धरम for धर्म is found in Mar. inscriptions of 13th and 16th centuries A. D. Pr. किलिन्त, सिणिद्ध for Sk. क्लान्त, स्निग्ध. A variety of the same phenomenon is seen in the insertion of a consonant between two consonants belonging to different places of articulation. This newcomer helps the tongue in passing from one place to another and is in fact a transitional sound; Gr. ἀνδρός-ανήρ, Mr. तुम्बळ, Sk. तुमुल; Col. Mar. कम्बळ for कमल; सुन्दर, Ved. Sk. सूनरी; Col. Mar. वान्दर, वानर; Mar. ताम्बडा for ताम्र, हुम्बरी-तुम्बरी, कम्बर, अंबळ, तारांबळ, उंबर, हण्टलें of हणलें,



म्हण्टले are other examples. आम्वा from आम्र, however belongs to progressive assimilation.

(9) *Syncope*:—Opposite of this is what is called *syncope*. The name is applied to loss of a vowel; the loss of a syllable being named *haplology*. Lat. *dexter* for *deksiteros*, जग्मुः, ज्मा, ग्मा from गम्, राज्ञा from राजन् + आ show syncope of अ. भूम्ना, प्रेम्णा are other examples. अपप्तत् is a typical verbal form showing syncope of अ. Col. Mar. पल्डा, वराल्डा. Sanskrit inflection and conjugation show many examples of dropping of vowels.

(10) *Haplology*:—Haplology is a name given by Bloomfield to the phenomenon where of two similar syllables following each other, one is dropped. The condition for haplology<sup>1</sup> is that one sound, at any rate, in the two consecutive syllables must be common: *e. g. semi modus* gives *semmodus*; Gr. *ἀμφι-φορεῖν* gives *ἀμφορέν*; शेव-वृधः gives शेवृधः जहीहि gives जहि, imperative of हा to abandon; शष्प + पिञ्जरः yields शष्पिञ्जरः; Col. Mar. गेल्लतो for गेल्ले-होतों; Mar. वीत for वितस्ति गुराखी = गुरे + राखी; सुके + केळें gives सुकेळें.

(11) *Metathesis*:—Lastly metathesis plays a considerable part in phonetic change. This is when two sounds in a word change places. The word आप्त from आत्मा through आत्पा is held by Pischel<sup>2</sup> to be an example of metathesis. Striking examples of this are our मरहट्ट (Pr. and classical too), Mar. मन्हाटें (often in ज्ञानेश्वरी) for महाराष्ट्र, वाणारसी (the original of the Eng. word Benares) for वाराणसी; दीहर, (Hindi देर) from दीर्घ through दीरह; पाहाणओ (Mar. वाहाण), Sk. उपानहो; Mar. हळें, Sk. लघु; ललाट by dissimilation gives नलाट, then by metathesis नटाल-नडाल-निडाल, seen in modern Mar. निढळ *e. g.* निढळचा चाम; Col. Mar. फाटक for Col. Mar. फाकट; Col. Mar. पल्डा,

1. Brugmann, Kurze Vergleichende Grammatik p. 244.

2. Grammatik. der Prakrit Sprachen p. 192.



वराडा ; चिकटणें and चिटकणें, डोकसें and डोसकें, टिकला for तिलक, माहोतर for मुहूर्त. पछान in जानपछान through पच्चाहिआण from Sk. प्रत्याभज्ञान, नहाणें through ण्हा from Sk. स्ना; Col.Hindī नखलौ for लखनौ, Mar. तहान from Pr. तण्हा, which again is due to metathesis from तृष्णा.

(12) *Change conditioned by rhythm and quantity*:—There are two minor classes of conditional changes. The change for rhythm ; *e. g.* the prosodial lengthening of a final अ seen in Vedic विदा मघवन् विदा ; and change conditioned by quantity. For example नीच-नित्य through निच्च ; the lengthening of the first syllable is due to the preservation of quantity. The quantity-law, as it is called, has exercised a powerful effect over the phonology of the Prākṛit languages. पक्क through पिक्क gives पीक ; पृष्ठ-पट्ट-पाठ, ऋक्ष-रिच्छ-रीस ; वितस्ति-वीत is a fine example of haplology and quantity law combined. वर्तिका-वर्त्तिआ-वात is a further example.

Some of these phonetic phenomena were recognised by Sanskrit grammarians much older than Pāṇini. Yāska, for instance, who may have belonged to the 7th century B. C., points out some of these in the second chapter of his निरुक्त thus: *a* अथाप्यस्तेर्निवृत्तिस्थानेषु आदिलोपो भवति स्तः सन्तीति; this is recognition of accent as a factor [in phonetic change ; *b* अथाप्यन्तलोपो भवति गत्वा गतम् इति; this is combinatory change ; *c* अथाप्युपधालोपो भवति जग्मतुर्जगमुरिति; this is *syncope* in modern language ; *d* अथाप्यादिविपर्ययो भवति ज्योतिः घनः etc ; this is partly *assimilation*, partly *dissimilation* ; *e* अथाप्याद्यन्तविपर्ययो भवति स्तोका रज्जुः सिकता इति ; this is *metathesis* ; *f* अथापि वर्णोर्पजनः आस्थत् भरुजा इति ; this is *anaptyxis*.

15. *Phonetic laws not absolute like natural laws*:—If we explain sound changes in any language historically, of course comparing various stages in its life with one another, we shall arrive at thousands of laws. There is, for instance, in Sanskrit what is called the *palatal law* with which we shall

deal later. Then there is the law of quantity in the Prākṛits whereby, in order to keep the quantity of the syllable inviolate, the preceding vowel is lengthened when the Sk. conjunct is simplified. But we must always remember, that these are not laws in the sense of invariable principles at all times, like scientific formulae. When hydrogen and oxygen are chemically mixed together in certain fixed proportion, they will always produce water. Such an inexorable inevitability and strict consequence is never claimed of the phonetic laws. So that the principle so emphatically laid down in the eighties of the last century by Leskien, that phonetic laws brook no exception, need not be misunderstood. The curious fact however is, that whatever seems to break the recognised phonetic laws was sought to be accounted for. If, for instance, the form  $\acute{\omicron}\kappa\tau\acute{\omega}$  (pronounce *hocto*) in certain Gr. dialects seemed to militate against the accepted correspondence of अष्टौ or अष्ट, Lat. *octo* Goth. *ahtau*, Ger. *acht*, the reason was at once demanded. It was found out that  $\acute{\omicron}\kappa\tau\acute{\omega}$  got its aspirate on the analogy of  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\acute{\alpha}$ , with which the former was closely associated in the mind of the speaker. Analogy was thus accepted as a great force in phonology. We have seen how words like Goth. *fadar*, which appeared to go against Grimm's law, attracted attention and were satisfactorily explained. But nobody cared to explain why at all the first sound shifting took place. Thus while causes of apparent exceptions were eagerly sought for and accepted, the general rules were accounted for by general causes of phonetic change.

a. **Recapitulation of causes of phonetic change:**—Of course the causes for phonetic change in general, of which we have spoken in a previous section, are always adduced, when phonetic change as such is in question. The very give and take of daily intercourse, *Verkehr* or *Usus* of Paul, wherein

no speech material can be expected to remain intact, the basis of articulation, *i. e.* peculiar position and structure of speech organs, of a given community, which accounts physiologically for certain changes, the motory sensations which in the nature of things can not be identical even in the case of two individuals of the same speech-community, all these internal causes, and extraneous circumstances like social, religious, political upheaval, conquest, migration, contact due to commercial and other intercourse, language mixture etc. account in a general way for phonetic change in the abstract.

But some philologists are not satisfied with this general explanation. Oertel<sup>1</sup> says, almost in a complaining tone, "But how about the phonetic law itself? Is the demand for a causal explanation extended to it? By no means. The phonetic law rests its claim to recognition not upon a causal explanation but upon its relative universality. That is to say, because a certain sound change can be observed in a larger mass of cases, it is elevated to the rank of phonetic law. The question why such a change took place is not asked. It is only in the case of exceptions that we meet the demand for a causal explanation." After explaining how Brugmann and others distinguished between mechanical phonetic change and change due to association *i. e.* analogy formations, which changes are explained by others by the words *physiological* and *psychological* changes, he draws attention to the twofold result of the creation of this term *phonetic law*.

The wholesome result of this was, that it enforced 'strict scientific methods of phonological investigations.' But the deplorable result, according to him, was, in the words of the celebrated philosopher Eucken quoted by

---

1. Lectures on the Study of Language p. 260.

him, that 'A liberal use of the term *law* has made very complicated problems appear as if they were simple and stood in no need of further analysis'. He states a double problem, the investigation of the degree of uniformity which sound changes exhibit; and the reason for such uniformity. He comments upon the usual reply, as he calls it, to the latter problem, *viz.*, simultaneous change in the articulation of a large number of individuals tending in the same direction. He says it rests upon three fundamental errors, (1) regarding linguistic facts as individual, instead of as social production, (2) seeing in social inter-communication a conservative factor only, while in fact social contact and the imitation which it involves are at the bottom of the changes as well, (3) failing to distinguish between the origin of a change and its spread.

The only constructive solution which he offers of the second problem stated above, is the immense importance that he arrogates to social imitation. This in fact was never denied by eminent philologists, like Whitney, Paul and Brugmann, who have given imitation its due. Again it is as general as the causes of phonetic change suggested by others. Once for example, while trying to find the cause of the German sound shifting, Oertel has tried to put forth specific causes. While considering individual causes for phonetic change and dismissing many as unsatisfactory *e.g.* lethargy, or the uselessness theory, he allows some merit to speed of utterance as a cause of change. It is he says,<sup>1</sup> 'also the immediate reason why words which are often used, undergo phonetic changes which do not affect words, which are more rarely used and therefore more slowly pronounced.' By the by we might not agree with the *therefore* of Oertel. For, frequency of use of a word already



learned and stored in memory cannot affect perceptibly the time required for its pronunciation. He is right when he says, that we have no grounds to believe that in many languages the rate of speed increased as time went on. He almost apologetically puts forward as likely 'another' cause, which might be immediately responsible for this change, namely "an increase in the force of the expired current." It may be a good cause, when we assume that it was a fact. But the eternal *why* still remains. Why should the Germanic tribes only find it necessary to increase the force of the expired current? Was it climate or the country or the general surroundings that made them do so? Or was it some physical incapacity that made them do so, just as the South American Abipones were said to have no labials, because they were supposed not to be able to close their lips?

**16. Importance of association:**—The words that we hear and ourselves utter are not preserved in our mind in an isolated<sup>2</sup> form; but so soon as they are heard, they attract each other in the mind and form several groups. These latter enter into larger ones. Nor should it be understood that these groups themselves are not interrelated. They cross and recross one another. A network of associations is formed which makes it possible for the individual to remember most of what he hears and to be able to recall all that is learned and thereby also to help in making new words and forms.

This association of the ideas or impressions of words in the brain, is the basis of all *analogy* formation *i.e.* the second important kind of linguistic change.

Before psychology was recognised as an experimental science, the truths of which could be tested, any unaccountable change in language was treated as irregular and

1. O. C. p. 213.

2. Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* p. 106.



inexplicable. If a certain form or group of forms appeared to militate against a recognised phonetic law, it was simply set aside as an exception. So that as the regular science of language progressed, the number of exceptions, unaccountable as they were thought to be, seemed to grow, threatening to upset the small claim, the study of language had established for itself to the title of *science*. But about the eighties of the last century, a band of young philologists arose—Brugmann, Osthoff and others—who boldly came forward offering an explanation to the so called exceptions. They proved conclusively the claim of *analogy* based upon association as a principle to be reckoned with in the phenomenon of linguistic growth. It was pardonable, that in the enthusiasm of this discovery, some of them went rather too far, and wanted to set down any divergence from the recognised rule as due to analogy. But as they sobered down, the fact remained, that many disturbances observed in the phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics of a language, were due to the working of this psychological principle of *analogy*. It was also for some time called *false analogy*. Since association of speech material into various groups, caused by similarity of sound or sense or both, is the basis of all analogical change, it will be worth while to know this aspect of language better. Because analogical disturbance, caused by one word or phrase in another, or by a form of one word in another form of the same word, is “impossible without some sort of associative<sup>1</sup> contact.” The converse, however, it should be remembered, is not always true.

‘Association’, as Oertel describes it, ‘in the broadest sense of the term, is the recall to consciousness by some conscious element, of one or more psychical elements

---

1. Oertel, Lectures on the Study of Language p. 150.

which have passed from consciousness'. Association is immediate or mediate. In linguistics we have chiefly to do with immediate association. This latter is divided into association by sound and association by sense. The first is the basis of analogical disturbances in phonology, morphology and syntax; the second of disturbances in the semantics of a language. Oertel assumes a third group of functional associations, because certain analogical disturbances can not properly be brought under the first two. The *s*, for instance, that certain adverbs like *sometimes* have taken on the analogy of noun adverbs like *always*, *lengthways* (wise), *sideways*, is not due to the association of sound or sense of these words, but only to the association by function *viz.* that they are all adverbs.

Analogical change does not touch the pronunciation of a *language as a whole*, as phonetic change does; it chiefly affects formation of words, inflection, syntax and meaning of words or group of words. We shall speak of the last when we come to *semantic* change.

Note that we advisedly say *as a whole*, because there are stray phonetic changes due to analogy as in Gr. *ἐπεται* which ought to be *ἐτεται*; but the *π* is there on the analogy of *ἐπομαι*, where *π* is regular. Then वाचौ and वाचः, dual and plural, are irregular, because we expect वाकौ, वाक्ः; but the former are formed on the analogy of वाचम्, where च is legitimate.

(1) *Analogical change in the formation of words:—* Sometimes quoted above is an example. The *s* of adverbs like *always* was felt to be a formantic element and was isolated from it to be used also in the case of words like *sometimes* which clearly are adverbs.

The same is to be said with regard to ऋ ति and रथस्पति which take the स् on the analogy of बृहस्पति, जास्पति, ग्रास्पति,

where it is legitimate as the gen. ending of these words that have entered into a compound. This was however looked upon as a distinct formantic element that could be isolated, and thus transferred to words like रथ and ऋत, where it was not legitimate.

The same is to be said of एकादश, where the अ following क becomes long on the analogy of द्वादश, where the long आ being the dual is legitimate. But that sense was lost, and it was also transferred to the form एकादश. The Gr. ὀκτάκις on the analogy of ἑπτακις tells the same story. The latter two examples are not those of functional association, but of associaton by contact; एकादश and द्वादश, ἑπτα and ὀκτώ being closely associated in the speaker's mind. The same is observable when a child, asked to repeat simple arithmetical tables says तेवन, चोवन instead of त्रेपन, चोपन on the analogy of एकावन, बावन. The child feels from एकावन and बावन, that वन the second part, is the element repeated and thus adds it to subsequent formations. Another change, or rather mistake, which we notice, is the confusion of the two decades from एकावन to अद्वावन and from एकयाण्व to अद्वाण्व, whereby the child unconsciously begins to say पद्वाण्व etc. in place of पद्वावन. This is due to the disturbing influence of association, here of course by sound, helped by metathesis. Another interesting example is the compound अग्नमरुतौ; it is irregular because we expect अग्निमरुतौ or at best अग्नीमरुतौ with the lengthening of the इ. It is due to the analogical disturbance caused by formations like इन्द्रमरुतौ (which probably also is due to इन्द्राग्नी where long आ is legitimate.) e.g. द्यावापृथिवी. The word पाश्चिमात्य, which is becoming classical in Marāṭhī instead of the regular पाश्चात्य, is due to the association of दाक्षिणात्य.

(2) *Analogical disturbance in inflection and conjunction:-* This is a very vast field for analogical disturbance; because not only do forms of one word influence other forms

of the same word, but forms of other words also influence the forms of different words.

(a) The instr. dat. gen. and loc. forms of feminine nouns in आ are formed on the analogy of those in ई. Thus देव्या, देव्यै, देव्याः, देव्याम्, are legitimately formed by the terminations आ, ऐ, आसू and आम्. But प्रियाया, प्रियायै, प्रियायाः and प्रियायाम् are not. Because the terminations being the same, we would expect forms like प्रिया, प्रिये, प्रियाः, प्रियाम्. The Vedic language has kept the original instr. in आ *e.g.* दक्षिणा, गुहा but it was probably felt that यै, याः, याम् were terminations and hence forms were made like प्रियायै, प्रियायाः etc. These forms drove out the old regular ones, with the exception in some cases of the instr. sing *e.g.* गुहा<sup>1</sup> where the old instr. is looked upon as an adverb; also दक्षिणा याति. This was later looked upon as the crude form without termination used for sing. and on its analogy instrumentals were formed from इ ending nouns without termination; *e.g.* सुनीती<sup>2</sup> for सुनीत्या, प्रणीती<sup>3</sup> for प्रणीत्या, अचिती<sup>4</sup>, for अचित्या.

(b) The nominative and accusative plurals of neut. nouns in अ appear to be formed on the analogy of nouns in अन्. Thus कर्माणि, सद्मानि are legitimate but प्रियाणि, दिनानि are not. They are formed on the analogy of those of the former. In fact the nom., acc. pl. forms of all neuter nouns are formed on the analogy of those ending in अन्. Thus analogy appears as a leveller, a force that makes for uniformity, just as phonetic change makes for difference and diversity.

(c) Here we find what is called proportion in analogy;

- 
1. Rg. II 4, 9.
  2. Rg. VI 45, 1.
  3. Rg. III 51, 1.
  4. Rg. IV 54, 3.

for we can put in the form of proportion what we have said just above.

देवी : प्रिया : : देव्यै : प्रियायै  
सद्म : प्रिय : : सद्मानि : प्रियाणि

(d) The same is abundantly found in conjugation. Roots with a prosodially long अ like अञ्च्, अर्च्, अर्ध् (ऋध्) form perfect like आनञ्जे, आनर्च, आनर्ध. On that analogy roots without long vowel like ऋच्, अश् etc. reduplicate in the same way, i. e. by lengthening the अ and infixing a न ; आनृचुः, आनशे.

अञ्च् : अश् :: आनञ्जे : आनशे.

(e) The vedic word नपात् is a peculiar example where the old regular phonetic form and the new change brought on by analogy are still found side by side.

नपात्, नपातम् but also नप्त्रा, नप्त्रे, नप्तः in Veda itself; (तनूनपात्, तनूनपातम्). The latter is an analogy formation. Because नपात् is a word indicating family relationship, words of which class show the suffix नृ, तर्, तार् (τρ, τερ, तोρ), on the analogy of such, नपात् was given a second form नप्तृ, like पितृ, (which is current in classical Sanskrit), the inflections of which run side by side with those of नपात्.

नपातम्, नद्भिः (from original नद्भिः), नप्तरम् etc.

The same is the case with the oblique cases of पति and सखि. पत्ये, पत्युः, सख्ये, सख्युः are formed on the analogy of पित्रे, पितुः.

c. f. the proportion पितृ : पति : : पित्रे : पत्ये  
:: पितुः : पत्युः

This is partly analogy based on association by sense.

The instr. sing. of nouns in अ is formed after pronouns, रामेण on the analogy of तेन, अनेन. Regularly it ought to be formed by adding आ as in राज्ञा.



(3) We come now to the third class of changes due to associative interference. This is also sometimes called *contamination*. Two phrases or sentences representing the same idea but in slightly different form, are apt to be so confused that they interchange parts with each other. There must, however, be some link, some pivot common to both, round which the two parts of both the phrases appear to turn. Oertel has quoted several German examples, put together with so much care and effort by the German scholars Meringer and Meyer. He has quoted only one English example, *e. g. Living in what to the Chinese is regarded as wealth*. This is a fusion of the phrases:—

*Living in what by the Chinese is regarded as wealth,*  
and *living in what to the Chinese seems wealth.*

अरे, तू हें मनावर ठेवशील of an enraged missionary, is the fusion of  
तू हें मनांत ठेवशील and तू हें मनावर घेशील.  
मला तें काम होत नाही is again a good example of the fusion or  
contamination of

मला तें काम करवत नाही and माझ्यानें तें काम होत नाही.

तो जावेसें ह्मणतो is a contamination of the two good sentences  
त्याला जावेसें वाटतें and तो जाऊं ह्मणतो.

Even मला तें काम करवतें which is good classical Marāṭhī arises  
from a fusion of

मला तें काम करायचें आहे and माझ्यानें तें काम करवतें.

This contamination is inexplicable without a close association of the sentences in the speaker's mind.

The following from Moropant<sup>1</sup> is also a good example:  
पाहूनि तत्कलत्रें स्मरलें मुनिवच मनांत सत्वरतें which is a fusion of  
तत्कलत्राला स्मरलें and तत्कलत्रें आठवले.

17. **Semantics** :—The class of change we are to treat now  
is *semantic change*, or change in the meaning of words. This

1. Vanaparva xiii 48.

part of the science of language received but scanty attention in the early days of our science and perhaps for good reason. The phonetic side of language attracted most attention, because the material it offered was copious; it was also more interesting. Such was not the case with semantics. It was not possible to say what meaning a particular word or words carried in prehistoric or even in historic times; and the connection between the old meaning, whatever it was, and the current one, it was not possible correctly to establish. Students of the Veda can testify to the correctness of this remark. Not only is there great difference of opinion regarding the meaning of words like वयुन्, वेदस् but there are also words whose sense it is not yet possible to determine., *e. g.* नद् and लेघ.

Yet the task of reducing this side of language to an intelligent branch of study was not hopeless. And Paul in his *Prinzipien* has devoted one whole chapter to it. Breal, the French scholar, made this his special subject, wrote a monogram on it and afterwards published it in book-form. This book is available in the English translation of Cust.

*Intellectual laws of language*:—In the first part of the book, Breal lays down certain laws which he calls intellectual laws of language. They are, (1) the law of specialization, (2) the law of differentiation and lastly (3) the law of irradiation

(1) As example of the law of specialization, he takes the comparative and superlative degrees.

In the old languages, the comparative could be marked by the suffixes *ro*, Sk. उपरः, Lat. *superus*; Sk. अधरः, Lat. *inferus*; *tero*, Sk. अन्तरः, Lat. *interus*; *ior*, Sk. वरीयस्, Lat. *purior*; the superlative by *mo*, Sk. अधम, उपम, Lat. *infimus*; *temo*, Sk. अन्तिमः, Lat. *intimus*; *issimo*, (Sk नेदिष्ठ), Lat. *dulcissimus*.

But the old languages themselves have tried to generalise one set of terminations as against another, *e. g.* Sk. ईयस्, इष्ट; Lat. *ior, issimus*. This is the first step towards simplicity.

But the later languages, French, German, Marāṭhī, for instance, while still keeping some comparatives in the old manner, have lost this dead mechanism. "Not", as Breal rightly says, "in consequence of phonetic law." The law that operates here is, according to him, the law of *specialization*. One single word assumes the functions of all these comparatives and superlatives. In French it is *plus*, in English *more*, German *mehr*, Marāṭhī अधिक. It must be noted that this specialized word is, in many cases, itself a comparative. To quote Breal, "Among all words of a certain kind distinguished by a certain grammatical imprint, there is always one which is little by little drawn apart from its fellows. It becomes the pre-eminent exponent of the grammatical conception of which it bears the stamp. But at the same time, it loses its individual value, and is no more than a grammatical instrument, one of the wheels of the phrase."

The substitution of prepositions for the ancient declensions is another example, *e. g.* मजपेक्षां for Sk. मत् or मत्तः; मजकरितां for Sk. मह्यम्. The termination of the preterite, *ed*, which was originally only a preterite form of the verb *do* *e. g.* *dide, hunger-dide, hungerde*, is specialized as a termination of the preterite. असें, असस, असें, themselves forms of the present historically used, of अस्, are specialized to signify habitual past and used with pres. part. of roots, *e. g.* मी करीत असें.

(2) Differentiation is defined as the 'intentional ordered process, by which words apparently synonymous, have nevertheless taken different meaning' and can no longer be used indiscriminately.

Take, for instance, the words माता and आई, both meaning originally *mother*. The latter word is borrowed from the Dravidian languages. The word आई is the more homely, affectionate name for mother, while माता is meant to give expression to awe and reverence. Take the words कार्य, कज्जा and काज the legitimate Prākṛit-Marāṭhī descendant of Sk. कार्य. But when the word कार्य itself was borrowed from Sk., they were no more looked upon as mere synonyms; but कार्य came to mean *ceremonial* and कज्जा a legal *cause*. The same process is observable in the French chose—a thing and *cause*—reason, legal affair.

Again, for instance, मनस्, मनुष, मति, मनन, मन्यु, all belong to root मन् *to think*. In the last the *feeling* aspect is emphasized, the first three relate to *thought*. Even amongst them, there is differentiation as मनस् *mind*, मति *thought*, मनन *constant thought, deep concentration*. This last form is transition to मन्यु. हृदय a तत्सम, and हिया, a तद्भव are also good examples. The latter, which in the Dnyaneshwari itself is used in its original sense of *heart*, came later to be used in the sense of *courage*; for *heart* the Sk. हृदय was borrowed. The same is the story of पुस्तक and पोथी, मार्ग and माग which latter means *trace* or *track*, e. g. of a thief, स्थान and ठाण, स्नान and नहाणें which in its Pr. form ण्हाण meant *bath* only, but now it is used in a specialized sense; वेणा, from वेदना through Pr. वेअणा and the तत्सम वेदना itself are good examples.

(3) The third phenomenon is that termed irradiation. It covers quite a series of facts.

Take for instance the Sk. verbs in च्छ, called *inchoatives*, because they denote the beginning of an action or an action that comes about gradually, e. g. गच्छति. Here the termination is used in its proper function. But in verbs like ऋच्छति यच्छति, पृच्छति it has not got that sense at all. The suffix is



isolated or irradicated from its legitimate roots and applied to others, where it was originally out of place. The Latin *maturesco* is all right, because it denotes an action that gradually takes place. But in *nosco*<sup>1</sup>—I know, *pasco*—I nourish, it loses its original meaning.

After dealing with some other principles of language, namely *survival of inflections*, *false perception*, which leads to a further principle *analogy*, *new acquisition* and *dropping* of useless forms, Breal comes in the second part of the book to the subject proper of his essay *i. e. meaning of words*.

Before coming to the various tendencies seen at work wherever words have changed their meanings, we shall advert to one or two more general points, which, though not very immediately connected with *change of meaning*, are better in place here than any where else.

They are (1) the disappearance of old words for certain ideas and (2) the appearance of new words. Words disappear because the ideas of which they are symbols also disappear; sometimes they disappear because the ideas they represent find new symbols. For a time, the disappearing and the new symbol must live side by side, otherwise the new symbol would be unintelligible and would die out.

(1) Examples of disappearing words. Hundreds of Sanskrit words, which denote sacerdotal objects and ideas, have disappeared from the descendants of Sanskrit, because those objects and ideas dropped out in later ages. वेदी, दर्वी, आसंदि, होता, पुरोडाश, and a host of such words have died out without leaving any traces. Loss of words is always connected with great upheaval in civilization, migrations of peoples and such other important events. The loss of the whole heathen

---

1. For other examples see Breal, Semantics p. 42.



terminology in the Slavonic and German languages after conversion of those people to Christianity is a good example.

(2) To revolution, to reformation, to geographical discoveries, to scientific invention so many words owe their birth, that it is in fact impossible to count them. Commonwealth, representation, franchise and other socio-political terms are new, although of course coined out of old material. Contact of languages, either as neighbouring ones or as those of conquerors and conquered, is responsible for a host of new words in any language. *e. g.* If we read letters of the time of Shivaji or the Peshwas, we can not help stumbling against five words of Persian or Arabic extraction, amongst any ten words. Words like बंदा, गुलाम, तबियत, बंदोबस्त, बिगर, बिन्, बेशरम, बरदास्त, किराया, सुरू, इलाज, ऐना, हवालदिल, पागल, वास्तपूस्त, कलमदान, अत्तरदाणी, गुलाब, स्वारी, बादशाहा, तक्त, वजीर, पेशवा, खाना, have now become so familiar to us that we inflect them as if they were good Marāthī words; they have now come to stay with us. कॉलेज, मार्कीट, ठेसन (for स्टेशन), कुली, टेम, मास्तर, बूट, रैन, वार्निस, are now known even to coolies. In words like पोष्ट, हापिस, तिकीट, प्याम्प, इस्पितळ, we already see the tendency to naturalize them by making them conform to native phonology; other examples—रपोट, मोटार, इष्टिक or इष्टक. New words to represent foreign ideas are also formed by drawing on the old material.

We shall deal now with several tendencies observable in *semantics*. It is of course possible to supplement them. *Restriction and expansion of meaning*:—We often see that words originally intended to carry a certain meaning and to express a certain idea are either (a) restrained *e. g.* साई a religious mendicant, originally meant *lord*, शेज *straw-bed* for a horse, originally meant *bed* generally or (b) expanded *e. g.* गोसावी which originally meant only *rich in cows*, means

in modern Marāṭhī *lord*, शहर to a rustic means only the particular town near his village. One can hear farmers and lower castes saying चाहारी (शहरी) गेल्लो, when only they mean संगमनेरास गेल्लो होतो or (c) transfer their meaning to other words.

*Pejorative tendency* :—Breal speaks of the *pejorative* tendency, whereby whatever is disagreeable or repulsive is veiled or disguised. We find, for instance, in some of the native states people speaking of बादशहाके दुष्मन्की तबियत अच्छी है, when what they really mean is बादशहाकी तबीयत बीमार है—the *Emperor is ill*. The word शौच which means only purity or cleanliness, is used to veil the disagreeable but all the same everyday bodily necessity. The same is the case with अमक्याला देवआज्ञा झाली or even अमका निवर्तला, where the words देवआज्ञा झाली and निवर्तला are euphemistic for तो मेला, *he died* बांगडी फुटली would be revolting to an orthodox woman; she would say बांगडी वाढवली—*bangle increased*. Polite language abounds in such expressions as रावसाहेब खालीअ ले, for the disagreeable रावसाहेब घोड्यावरून पडले. The opposite of this tendency is seen, when words which primarily are not polite or desirable, are used in a sense that is far too dignified for their appearance. Such is तासडपट्टी केली or इजामत केली, a strong expression for *remonstrated with*.

*Associative disturbance in meaning* :—Association, both by similarity and by contact is responsible for a good deal of change or shifting in meaning. Yāska the author of निरुक्त appears to be cognisant of this fact when he says, while deriving कक्ष्या as कक्षं सेवते, अयमपीतरो मनुष्यकक्ष एतस्मादेव बाहुमूलसामान्यादश्वस्य. Here of course there is some expansion due to association by similarity. पत्रम्, for instance, is first *leaf*, and then by association by similarity *paper, letter*. पाद is *foot*, then *part*. e. g. निरुक्त-पादः पद्यतेः अयमपीतरः

प्रमाणपादः पशुपादप्रकृतिः. In काय बाजार भरला आहे, बाजार means the *noise and confusion* associated with a बाजार or market place.

As examples of semantic change due to association by contact, we might cite Sk. मषी *collirium*, then *ink*; Sk. आम्र the *tree*, then its *fruit*; Mar. ताट *dish, plate* and then *meals* taken in the dish, in the language of the Marathas; दिवा first *light* and then *lamp*; गांव first a *village*, and then the *people* in the village. उज्जयिनी for the crowds in the town, in मृच्छकटिक I. विषमभराक्रान्ता नौरिव पर्याकुला उज्जयिनी आसीत् is a good classical example.

*Metaphor* :—Between this and transferred sense or metaphor there is not much difference. Sometimes the metaphors are not felt as such, but often they are too transparent. हात *hand* means *mainstay* or *support* also; तो माझा उजवा हात आहे. Most of the words of abuse must belong to this class; गाढव, बैल, म्हसोबा, पोहो (फो) are some of them. In words like सज्ज *ready*, however, the metaphor ceases to be felt and the word is taken primarily to mean what it only signifies secondarily. The original meaning is *with the bow strung*, चर्वितचर्वण *repetition*, चव्हाट a *tiresome speech*, कीस काढणें to *find out subtle distinctions* or *descend into wearisome detail*; तिळांजळी घेउन बसला आहे *waiting for an opportunity to ruin a man*, हातघाईवर आला *was very much irritated*, देवा for a *Brahmin* when a village farmer says to a Brahmin देवा मोहोतर सांगा are examples. Here too the idea that this is primarily a metaphor is lost sight of. The list of examples can be multiplied at will.

Words which primarily denote only one object come to denote also other objects of the class; or in other words proper names become common names. The word *father* means to the child only *its father*; but it is later extended to the class of persons of that relationship. Thus also

गंगा, which is the name of the Ganges only, is applied to big and probably holy rivers like गोदावरी, कृष्णा and कावेरी. A woman in Sangli will always say गंगेवर गेलें होतें, when she only means कृष्णेवर etc. A village woman, asked the name of the little stream near the village, will always say गंगा. In सोनें नाणें आमचे जवळ कांहीं नाहीं, the word नाणें has got an expanded meaning. This is the same as the *expansion* of Breal, referred to above.

The contrary of it is *restriction*, also attended to above, whereby a word primarily denoting a class etc. simply denotes an individual or detail of that class; *e. g.* शहर *town* above mentioned. सोनें *gold*, is also restricted to mean *ornaments of gold*, देश *country* to mean the part of a country, even a village to which a man belongs, *e. g.* वायदेस.

There is a tendency in some words to lose their independence and become dependant upon some other words to which they appear to be tacked on. The copula is a good example. It loses its primary sense of *existence, being*, and becomes simply an auxiliary in forming some compound tenses. *e. g.* तो करीत आहे and तो आहे. This is however best seen with negation of the last, तो तेथें नाहीं आहे, where आहे becomes simply an unmeaning appendage.

To this class belong prepositions and conjunctions, and personal terminations. They were originally as good flexibe words as nouns and pronouns, but are now merely reduced to a secondary importance, in drawing out the case and other relationships in a sense. Yāska, the author of निरुक्त had apparently seen this, when he said न निर्बद्धा उपसर्गा अर्थान्निराहुः, नामाख्यातयोस्तु कर्मोपसंग्रहद्योतका भवन्ति. The prep. पश्चात् is an old abla<sup>ti</sup>ve in the same way अभितः and परितः which lose the case ending and become simple अभि and परि. The adverb विशेषें करून *particularly* was, and has still kept



the unmistakable signs of, a gerundial phrase. The Sk. preposition उद्दिश्य, which governs the accusative, is nothing else than an absolutive. The conjunction यत् was originally a pronoun. So was the Marāthī की originally the pronoun किम्.

Most of the adverbs also belong here. ततः was originally abl. of तत्, the demonstrative pronoun. शनैः, नीचैः have still preserved their instrumental ending in ऐः. In सुखं, the adv., one clearly sees the acc. of the noun सुख. हेल्या, old Marāthī हेळा (as in एकी हेळा ज्ञा. ४, ३९ ; ९, १३० etc.) is an old instrumental. This is more change of function than meaning. The same has happened to the personal terminations मि, सि, ति, etc. which really were pronouns.

Sometimes one finds double forms of a word current in a language at the same time. Originally of course both must have signified the same thing; but later the superfluity of such a thing led to differentiation in meaning *e. g.* Mar. काज from Sk. कार्य through Prākṛit कज्ज; कज्जा the borrowed word and कार्य which was bodily borrowed from the Sanskrit. A differentiation was sought in this way. काज came to mean ordinary *business* or *object*; कज्जा a *legal business, quarrel*; कार्य *ceremonial*. See French *chose* above quoted. Sometimes words that signify an idea or object are used to signify a feeling. *e. g.* रामा, रामा! देवा, देवा! आई, आई! अरे बापरे!, side by side with interjections like अरेरे, अबब. Even whole phrases sometimes weaken into interjections; विष्णवेनमः ! रामाय तस्मै नमः ! हरा शिवा गोविंदा !

These changes make it manifest that they are entirely independent of phonetic change. But sometimes they do coincide, as when we have *man* one man and *men* more men; *foot* one foot, but *feet* more than one; हरी, one person but हरयः many of them. This change in meaning is not



however, of such a nature as to justify its being placed side by side with the semantic change above spoken of. For, the change in the meaning here, is only of degree and not of kind.

18. **Syntax:**—Syntax is the arrangement of words in a sentence according to mutual relationship, as determined by their usage. This was recognised as a legitimate part of grammar in ancient Greece, Rome and India. But it did not come by its own in Comparative Philology until very recently. The phonetic and formal side of language was considered most important and the sentence with its various vicissitudes was set aside. Historical syntax was unduly neglected in the time of Bopp; and with the exception of Lange's essay in 1852, there was no literature on that subject, until Windisch and Delbrück took up comparative syntax in their *Syntaktische Forschungen* (1871-88). It received full recognition in the *Vergleichende Grammatik* by Brugmann and Delbrück and forms its fifth volume called *Vergleichende Syntax* (1893). Even now, textbooks of comparative grammar of the individual languages generally contain only two divisions, *Lautelehre* and *Formenlehre* or phonology and inflection; *e. g.* Sommer, Hirt, Thumb's Handbooks of the Latin, Greek and Sanskrit languages.

Consideration of syntax is mainly the consideration of the different parts of speech, their genesis and function. Even very primitive languages must show names for objects or *substantives*, for attributes or *adjectives* and for actions and states or *verbs*; whether or not they are distinguished as such is a different question. There are certain languages which do not distinguish between them; and it is not at all improbable that our languages too might not have distinguished them originally.

Some of the remaining parts of speech, the *adverb*, the *preposition*, the *conjunction* give us a good insight into the gradual formation of syntax ; because they are formed in historic times and bear clear marks of their genesis. The first and foremost of these is the adverb. Words like क्रिम्, दक्षिणा *to the right*, एना, दिवा, शनैः *slowly*, कामं, तत् *therefore*, कुत् and यत्र, उपाजे and अन्वाजे *so as to support*, हेलया *easily*, सहसा *forcibly*, साकं *with*, सुखं or सुखेन *happily*, show that they are cases of nouns, pronouns, or adjectives, acc. inst. abl. and loc. The way these forms hardened into adverbs seems to have been something like this. Originally thier case function must have been as alive as that of other words. But because these forms became more closely attached to verbs than others, they were attracted by them. They then became isolated and thus came to be looked upon as adverbs, instead of so many cases of nouns or pronouns or adjectives. The Greek *οἰκοι, πέδοι, κακωσ*, Latin *rechte, primum*, Avesta *yaθa, θwato, daksina, āāt* (then), Marāṭhī कधीं, हलके झटदिशी, पलीकडे, आरती are examples of such adverbs. In Marāṭhī today we can form adverbs from nouns by adding the ने of the instrumental. मोठयानें ओरडली, झटक्यानें गेला etc. 'If a word' says Breal, 'ceases in the smallest degree to be perfectly clear in its conception, if, above all, any appearance of irregularity be in the least degree visible, it is classified apart.' Such has actually been the case with our adverb and some other parts of speech.

From the fact that the Indogermanic languages show no agreement in the choice of the inflection which was isolated as an adverb, Breal concludes that the adverbs are of a recent date, although the idea of such a modification of the adverb must have been existing in human intelligence long before. Another part of speech, the preposition, also has to tell the same story. The prepositions are

original adverbs as कृते, ऋते, पश्चात्, सत्रा, सार्ध, समं, Marāṭhi पाशीं, कडे show. Whitney's<sup>1</sup> words on this point are appropriate: 'There is no proper class of prepositions, no body of words having for their prevailing office *government* of nouns. But many of the adverbial words indicated above are used with nouns in a way, which approximates them to the more fully developed propositions of other language.' Breal<sup>2</sup> goes further still when he says "the preposition is even more modern than the adverb. At the time that our languages separated, there was not one single genuine preposition." If so, how did prepositions arise at all? To this Breal<sup>3</sup> has a carefully considered answer. "It is well known that at first every substantive marked the relations of dependence, of interiority, of instrument, etc. by modifying its formal syllables. But this method of expression was at once complicated and insufficient. It was complicated, because substantives, not being all constructed alike, appeared under different forms in one and the same case (gen. *domini*, *rosae arboris*). It was insufficient, because the cases of the declension were too few in number to express all the relations that the mind was capable of conceiving. This was the reason why adverbs were placed by the side of these cases to define them. But the habit of placing the same adverb by the side of the same case could not fail in the long run to produce upon the mind of men an effect of which we shall presently have other examples. : between the inflection and the particle of place or time they supposed the existence of some special connection, some relation of cause to effect. Instead of considering the

---

1. Sanskrit Grammar p. 414.

2. Semantias p. 183.

3. Op. Cit. p. 17 and 183.

adverb as a mere determinant of the case, popular intelligence saw in it the actual cause of the case; a well-known paralogism that philosophy designates by the formula 'cum hoc, ergo propter hoc.' But when a paralogism is universal, it is undoubtedly not far from giving the impression of a truth. In the matter of language, that which the people believes itself to feel, passes into the condition of reality. Adverbs of place and time like *ἀπό, περί, ἐπί, πρόν, μετά, παρά*, from having been the accompaniment of the genitive, dative or accusative became the cause of these cases; from having been adverbs they became prepositions. The minds of men endowed them with a transitive force."

*Conjunction:*—The fact that while the Latin and Greek languages show a number of conjunctions as such, in Sanskrit the conjunction as a class should be wanting is a significant fact and shows that perhaps many of them are not Indo-European. Whereas the other languages combine clauses by means of these, the Sk. language<sup>1</sup> generally satisfies itself with composition of words, with gerunds and with इति, with abstract nouns in case forms.

यत्, तत्, यदि, तर्हि the most common conjunctions in Sanskrit, are pronominal (relative etc.), bases. So are Latin *ut, ne, quominus*, quin and the Gr. *ὅς*. These were all of them once full pledged words having their own declension and signification. But the latter was lost and the pronoun came to be looked upon as a conjunction. Among the few examples of conjunctions being derived from substantives is कारण. मला तेथें येतां आलें नाहीं, कारण मी गुंतलों हेंतो; where कारण a noun is evidently used as a conjunction.

<sup>1</sup> Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar p. 416.



Thus three parts of speech—the adverb, the preposition and the conjunction—prove themselves to be new formations from existing old material. The process of their formation was a slow one. It belongs to historical times. Applying the results gained by observations upon existing facts, it is not improbable that even the substantive, adjective and verb did not originally exist, but were the result of a slow process of growth. Time must have been when primitive savage men could denote only objects and states. From them must have developed the substantive and adjective, verb etc. But even before the substantive, the pronoun perhaps existed. *διδώμι*, ददामि—I give, contained the idea of the subject in the termination मि and the want of a different subject was never felt. Again to a savage, himself *i. e.* I is the most important person; all else are *others*. Amongst these others there are some closer to him, whom he calls *you*; the rest are *they*. It is the pronoun therefore that must have been the word to be the earliest distinguished from others. “It is more primitive, more instinctive, and more easily explained by gesture” etc. than the substantive which it must have preceded.

Speaking of *pronouns*, the genesis of the relative pronoun is worth considering. It is also an example of syntactical conversion. In the case of the adverb, the preposition and the conjunction, conversion took place from one class to another, here it takes place within the same class. Breal points out the conversion thus: certain pronoun, in no way distinguished from others externally, acquires by the use to which it is put, a force of union which allows it to weld together two propositions. This is expressed in grammatical language as follows: from demonstrative it becomes relative. This explains how the demonstrative *that* could have become the relative *that*. Here again it must be



remembered that the idea of the relative must have been there before the Indo-Germanic people separated. There was some way of expressing the relative idea e.g. the Sanskrit addage बुद्धिर्यस्य बलं तस्य or यद्दासि तत्ते वित्तम्.

The same is the case with the *article*, which exists only in some Indo-German languages, not in all. It is the old demonstrative pronoun. The English *the*, German *der*, Greek *ὁ*, French *le* are all original demonstratives, however with a certain change in meaning; they have lost their independence and become a syntactical instrument.

The so-called *copula*, Eng. *to be*, Ger. *sein*, Fr. *être*, Marāṭhī असणे shows the same history behind it. It was originally an independent finite verb and generally signified existence. But it was brought to the help of other verbs and has almost become an auxiliary, excepting when it is used independently. In sentences like *he is dead*, Ger. *er ist tot*, तो मेला आहे, it is simply a syntactical instrument and nothing else. When we say तो मेला नाही आहे, तो आहे we use the word both as a copula and as a finite verb. Other auxiliaries also share the same fate; e. g. Eng. *have*, *he has lost all he had*, is as good an example of this fact as the above Marāṭhī sentence.

Coming to verbs, we find distinction made between *neuter* and *transitive* verbs. Neuter verbs are those which require no object to complete their sense. They are self sufficient and thus have a claim to precedence. The transitive sense must have been a later process because mutual understanding in the old primitive state required words to possess their full signification. Some of the neuter verbs were frequently associated with words which determined them or pointed their action towards a particular object. When the mind got accustomed to this phenomenon, it required such words (completions) of most verbs. Thus स गच्छति

conveys a complete sense; but it was often associated with words like ग्रामम्, गृहम्. By a transfer of ideas<sup>1</sup>, analogous examples of which are found outside philology, our intelligence believed that it felt in the very words themselves that, which is the mere result of our habit or thought. From that moment arose verbs that demanded a complement. This led to a twofold result; the meaning of the verbs was modified; and the significative value of case terminations was restricted. The root ॠ thus means *to go* simply. But with objects it slightly changes its meaning: Sk. स मरणमृच्छति *he meets death*. The same is the case with पत् to fall; नरकं पतति means *goes to hell*.

Sk. अधि originally an adverb, became prepositional and governed an object. Later it was joined to roots and transferred its object to the root. Sk. अर्थं अधिगच्छति 'he gets wealth' was originally like अधि अर्थं गच्छति *goes towards etc.* The prepositional adverb has kept its independence in Vedic language. The root या means *to go*. Followed by the acc. it means *to pray* तत्त्वा<sup>2</sup> यामि ब्रह्मणा वंदमानः. Breal has quoted interesting examples from Latin and Greek. The German word *abtreten* - *to retire* is a neuter verb, becoming transitive in a sentence like 'jemanden etwas abtreten'. Lastly we shall turn to the noun, especially its syntax of cases. All the Indo-European languages had the seven cases. In some, however even in the olden times some cases were fused together as the dative and instrumental, the ablative and locative in the Greek and Latin languages. The function of the instr. and the loc. have been taken over by the dative in Greek and by the ablative in Latin. In Greek the instr. and abl. have totally disappeared and locative,

1 Breal, Semantics p. 190

2 Rv. I 24,11.

3 Hirt, Handbuch p. 306.

dative have almost fused together. Really speaking the difference in the functions of these cases was not very great and in their very genesis lay the germ of their decay. In some cases, similarity of form was the root of all confusion; *e. g.* instr. plur. of *o* stems in Greek, *οις*, was confused with the ending of the loc, *οις*-(ι), in words like *οἴκοις*, *οἰκοῖσι*.

*Causes of fusion of cases.*—The first cause is syntactic, as one case extends the area of its usage at the expense of another *e. g.* Gr. dative and Lat. ablative. The second is phonetic, *e. g.* the inst. and loc. in Greek. A third cause is the comparative frequency or want of it. The dual and many of the plurals are less needed than the singulars and are therefore disappearing; they have mostly disappeared in the western group. The dual had disappeared even in the old languages except in Sanskrit and plurals of many cases had the same form *e. g.* रामेभ्यः for dative and ablative plural; रामाभ्याम् for instr. dat. and abl. dual. रामयोः for gen. and loc. dual; रामौ nom. acc. and voc. dual.

But there are really many more syntactical relationships than could be well distinguished by the cases. The instrumental itself shows in Greek and in other languages double endings, and has led scholars to believe that they represented originally two distinct cases. Hirt<sup>1</sup> calls it *Kasus Indefinitus*. Languages like the Finnish and Turkish have a vast number of cases and can therefore express greater definiteness of relation than the Indo-German languages could do. Again the relations that were expressed were felt to be less definite than required and hence the aid of adverbs was profusely taken. This tendency is seen even in the oldest of the Indo-German languages. It grew as time went on, as it was found very convenient; until we see to-day languages which have already given

over most of the cases, and have made adverbs or rather prepositions current coin. From synthesis they have passed to analysis. The English language is the best example of this. The one form *me*, with proper preposition, is made to serve for all cases: 'by me, to me, for me, in or at me, of me.' Even the acc. *me* was thought inadequate to express the relationship of the indirect object and the preposition *to* was prefixed to it; *e. g.* he gave *me* a book, but, he gave a book *to me*. The French language compares favourably with the English in this respect. The rigid inflexibility of the cases is there less felt and a variety of relationships is expressed with greater ease. The German has preserved four cases in the article and in some declensions. But a different picture is presented by the modern dialects of India. They are not as was naturally to be expected, getting so pronouncedly analytic, as the English and the French languages have been. They have, on the contrary, invented newer inflections. The former, like the Japanese and Chinese, caught hold of the order of words or a fixed position as the best mode of expressing syntactical relation. Thus 'Rāma defeated Rāvaṇa' will yield the desired sense only in this order. If it is reversed, it gives quite the opposite sense. In Marāṭhī, for instance, राम रावणाला मारतो could also be expressed as रावणाला राम मारतो without detriment to the sense. Thus the Indian languages have apparently gone a different way. Here the tendency is not towards wholesale analysis; but rather towards a more or less halting synthesis. Thus to the old Sk. cases were added prepositions, just like those in Greek and Latin, but they were so welded together that they soon were looked upon as new inflections. Guj. गाममां or Hindi गांवमै is from Sk. ग्राम-मध्यात् through गाम-मद्भ्या, माद्भ्य, माहि or महि, महि, मद्

मा etc. To-day मां, मै are looked upon as locative case endings. The same is the story of गांवांत which originally is गांव + आंत from अंतः, the adverbial post-position. But no one now thinks that it is an adverb—it has now become a regular inflectional ending. The ला of the dative goes back upon लागीं in what may be called mid—Marāṭhī, which again is traceable to लागौनि, evidently a verbal form, seen on the Nagaon inscription of A. D. 1367. ला goes back upon लाई, लागीं too. Cf. Maith. लै.

---



## PART II.

—:O:—

### FAMILIES OF LANGUAGES.

In the first part of the book, we dealt with the general principles of our science. We looked at language from both aspects, the formal one and the material one. While dealing with the formal side of language, we observed how language was formed, how it grew, what were the laws that governed its growth, what were phonetic laws, what were the principles that apparently counteracted them and other cognate points. In dealing with the material and content of language, we took notice of the two branches of semantics or the science of meaning of words, and syntactics if it may be so called, or the science of the mutual relations of words in a sentence.

20. Language groups:—We shall now speak of the division of languages based upon the difference in morphology or word formation, before going to the history and description of the Indo-Germanic languages proper. This morphological classification is to be distinguished from the genealogical classification of languages. Here four classes are put forward:—

(1) The *agglutinative* languages. The name comes from Latin *gluten*, lime, *glutinare*, to glue with lime. The forms of words are made up by suffixes and the two appear to be *glued* together to some extent. However, the stem and suffix always keep their individuality and are felt as individual parts within the word-form. If there is some phonetic change, while the suffix is added, it is not, as in the Indo-Germanic languages, a necessary condition. The suffixes could thus be consciously separated from the stem

and may be looked upon as independent words. The one advantage of this is, that the singular and plural then need not have separate terminations; the change of the suffix between stem and termination is sufficient for that purpose.

The Turkish language is an example of agglutination and the instance oft quoted<sup>1</sup> is that of *ev* house:—

	Sing.	Plural.
Nom.	<i>ev</i>	<i>ev-ler</i>
Acc.	<i>ev-i</i>	<i>ev-ler-i</i>
Dat.	<i>ev-e</i>	<i>ev-ler-e</i>
Abl.	<i>ev-den</i>	<i>ev-ler-den</i>
Gen.	<i>ev-in</i>	<i>ev-ler-in</i>
Loc.	<i>ev-de</i>	<i>ev-ler-de</i>

The inserted syllable is either *e* or *a*, (e. g. in *ler* or *de*) according as the syllable of the stem is *e* or *a*. Thus then, there is a kind of vowel harmony. There is a variety of case relations unknown to the Indo-Germanic languages. The process of adding or removing syllables at will, adds a power to the agglutinative languages. Besides the example quoted above, we have for instance this other one:—*el* hand, *el-im* my hand, *el-im-de* in my hand, *el-im-de-ki* being in my hand. Besides the Turkish, the Hungarian & Finnish languages belong to this group.

(2) *The agglutinative-inflectional* languages have both suffixes and inflection like the Indo-Germanic languages, for the formation of words. The difference of this class from the former one is that here the stems must have inflection before the suffixes and the similarity is the addition of the suffixes. The Semitic languages show vowel change in the root. Words are formed in such change by varying in a particular way the

1. Porzezinski, *Einleitung*, p. 135. Giles, *Manual*, p. 41.

vowels attached to the consonants, partly by prefixes and partly by suffixes; *e. g.* root *sgd* gives *masgid*. The root *slm*, gives *selima*, *salam*, *islam*, *muslim*, *selim*, and *suleyman*.

(3) The third class is formed by languages that have not got complete word-forms. They are the so called *root* or *isolating* languages. The Chinese language is an example. Here it is the position of the word in a sentence that determines its character. Thus a word is a verb, noun, or adjective, not because it has got the distinguishing characteristics of these, but because it occupies a peculiar position in the sentence. These are called root languages, because what are roots in other languages, are in them complete and independent words. They may be simple or compound. Another name for these is *isolating* languages.

(4) The *inflectional* languages:—*e. g.* the Indo-Germanic and the Dravidian groups. These are distinguished from the others by their pronouncedly inflectional character. From the Turkish they are distinguished by the absence of the inserted syllable which serves for inflection, by a lesser number of cases, (and we have seen, there is a tendency to lessen these still more, *e. g.* English, French, etc.) by possessing compound words which the *agglutinative* languages do not possess, by the demarcation of the various parts of speech, whereas in the lowest form of the Hungarian, for example, there is little difference between noun and verb. In the latter language the ending part for the first person is the suffix used in the noun to express *my*; *hal-unk*<sup>1</sup> means our fish and *var-unk* we sow. Cf. *ur-am*<sup>2</sup> my master, *ur-unk* our master. In the Turkish language the

---

1. Giles, *Manual of Comparative Philology*, p. 42.

2. Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* p. 307.

verb is mostly formed of a participle with personal pronouns appended for the 1st and 2nd person; for the 3rd person the mere participle is used.

*b. Difference between purely inflectional and agglutinative-inflexional languages:*—The distinguishing characteristics between the Indo-Germanic and the Semitic families, to which latter belong the Assyrian, Hebrew, Aramaic, and the languages of the Arabic family are (1) the vowel gradation of roots and stems in the Indo-Germanic; (2) the peculiar form of the Semitic roots. These latter with very few exceptions possess three consonants. The vowel change within the root is of a different character from that in the Indo-Germanic; *e.g.* the roots *sjd* and *slm*. The verb alone is highly inflected in the Semitic languages and consists of noun and adjective forms, combined with fragments of personal pronouns, prefixed or affixed.

The question, whether the Semitic and Indo-Germanic languages are related to one another, is as old as 1828, when Klaproth raised it. Since then it has been the subject of many essays, monographs, but no definite conclusion could ever be drawn. In the case of the *isolating* and merely *agglutinative* languages, such questions could not arise, as they showed nothing like a kind of inflection. But the Semitic languages possess a kind of inflection and hence the necessity of the question. But in other things like phonology, morphology and syntax, which are the backbone of a language, they show such a wide divergence, that it is not possible to say from them alone, that the Indo-Germanic and Semitic languages are interrelated. Scholars like Möller have very recently (1907) tried to reconstruct the parent Semitic language, and they seem to compare this with the so called parent Indo-Germanic language. But a comparison be-



tween such hypothesized languages, for which there is no historical proof that they ever existed, or if at all, in the particular form in which they are reconstructed, defeats its own end.

There appears however to be a close resemblance and therefore a relationship between the Semitic and the Hamitic languages. These latter comprise the Egyptian and the Koptic (now dead) languages. Certain other North-African languages—the Berber language and the languages of Abyssinia—are believed to belong to this group.

Some scholars contend that the Semitic and the Chinese are related with each other. This whole question of language relationship is as difficult as it is vast. Considered in an abstract way, the question may perhaps be generally accepted. Although such a connection between the languages of the different groups, and languages within one group, like the Indo-Germanic and the Dravidian which also are highly inflectional, can not as yet be historically proved, yet there is perhaps nothing unnatural if we accept the possibility of such a connection. Men and their language have a long history behind them, and if at all the Indo-German and the Chinaman, to take extreme cases, were once living together, and what is more pertinent, speaking the same or closely allied languages, the separation took place in such a hoary past and took such divergent ways, that all traces of a possible companionship were totally obliterated. Really speaking, the day is not yet, when one could brush aside the question as settled one way or the other; for, so much is yet to be done for other groups of languages, the Semitic itself for instance. Until all the chief languages of the world are studied as closely as are the Indo-Germanic languages,



no one has the right to say that the question is closed either one way or the other.

21. Some Dravidian Tables:—Among the greatly inflectional and partly yet agglutinative languages, the Dravidian languages—Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese etc.—take a high rank by their developed form, which compares favourably with that of the Indo-Germanic. These have very great affinities with the Scythian or Turanian group; some scholars hold that they actually belong to it.

The two following tables clearly show their character.

## I.

Sing.	Telugu.	Tamil.	Malayalam.	Kanarese.
N.	<i>gurram-a tree</i>	<i>maram</i>	<i>maram</i>	<i>maram</i>
A.	<i>gurramunu</i> <i>gurram</i>	} <i>maratte</i>	<i>marattine</i> <i>maratta</i>	} <i>maramam</i> <i>maranam</i>
D.	<i>gurramunaku</i>	<i>marattirku</i>	<i>marattinnu</i>	{ <i>marake</i> <i>marakke</i>
G.	<i>gurramu</i> <i>gurramuyokka</i>	} <i>marattinadu</i> } <i>marattina</i>	} <i>marattindre</i> } <i>marattinnde</i>	} <i>marda</i> } <i>maradā</i>

## Plu.

N.	<i>gurramulu</i> <i>gurrālu</i>	} <i>marāṅgaḷ</i>	<i>marāṅṇaḷ</i>	<i>maragaḷ</i>
A.	<i>gurramulanu</i> <i>gurrālanu</i>	} <i>marāṅgaḷei</i>	<i>marāṅṇaḷe</i>	<i>maragaḷam</i>
G.		<i>marāṅgalinadu</i> <i>marāṅgaḷnia</i> )	<i>marāṅṇaḷude</i>	<i>maragaḷa</i>

## II.

<i>ēnu, ē, nē</i>	I.	<i>yān, nān</i>	<i>nān</i>	<i>yān, ān, nā</i>
<i>ēmu, mēmu</i>	we.	<i>yām, nām</i> <i>nāṅaḷ</i>	} <i>nām, nammaḷ</i> , } <i>nāṅaḷ</i>	} <i>ām, āvu, nāvu</i>
<i>nīvu, nī ivu</i>	thou.	<i>nī, nīy</i>	<i>nī</i>	<i>nīn, nī nīnu</i>
<i>mīru, iru</i>	you.	<i>nīr, nīvir</i> <i>nīṅaḷ</i>	} <i>nīṅṇaḷ</i> } <i>nīṅṇaḷ</i>	} <i>nīm, nīvu</i>
<i>nā, nan</i>	my.	<i>en</i>	<i>en, in</i>	<i>en, nan</i>
<i>nī, nin</i>	thy,	<i>nin, nun, un</i>	<i>nin</i>	<i>nin</i>

22. The Indo-Germanic Family:—The Indo-Germanic family includes several groups of languages. They are (1) the Aryan, which comprises the ancient Sanskrit and the Avestan languages, (2) the Armenian, (3) The Greek, including Ionic, Attic, Doric, and other important dialects, (4) The Albanian, (5) the Italian group, consisting of Latin, Oscan, and Umbrian dialects, (6) the Celtic, composed of Britannic and Gaelic (Irish and Scottish), (7) the Germanic branch including Gothic, the Norse, (Islandic, Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish), the West Germanic (Anglo-saxon, Frisian, Low German, Low Frankian), (8) Balto-slavonic or Lithu-Slavonic, composed of old Prussian, Lithuanian, Lettic and the Russian, Bulgarian, Cechisch, Slovakish etc.

The eight groups, together with the recently discovered Tokharian, go to form the great family called the Indo-Germanic. That they are called Indo-Germanic is perhaps only an accident. In the early days of the science of philology, the Celtic group was not yet recognised as belonging to the Indo-Germanic family. A name had to be given to the family, which would include all the acknowledged languages, and it was found in the combination of the most easterly and the (till then) most westerly languages belonging to that family. It was Indo-Germanic. But the name became inadequate on the discovery of the Celtic. Some scholars proposed to call the family Indo-Celtic but it was not generally accepted. The other name Indo-European perhaps became more popular, and scholars, excepting Germans, used it freely. The Germans however stuck to the old name, perhaps out of patriotism, but more out of habit. Japhetic, the old Biblical name, was easily discarded. Indo-aryan is an ambiguous name ; it more usually designates the Sanskrit-Avesta group.

The comparison of the several branches with one

another has made the task of ascertaining, whether any given language is Indo-Germanic or not, very much easier than at first. We have to note the following four points carefully, before giving our opinion that a particular idiom is Indo-Germanic. They are:—(1) That the roots or bases of a language are to a great extent the same as those which appear in other Indo-Germanic languages *i.e.* it has a similar phonology; (2) That the way in which nouns, verbs and other parts of speech are formed from these roots is essentially the same as in other recognised Indo-Germanic idioms; (3) That the morphology or the inflectional and conjugational changes of words, in order to express relationship within the sentence, are of the same nature as in other Indo-Germanic languages. (4) If a language shows the same pronouns and numerals, and some of the most common words, *e. g.* those of family relationship etc. it is sure to be Indo-Germanic; because these are the words that are most essential in the language and will not be given up in favour of others belonging to a strange idiom. Of these, morphological resemblances are most important<sup>2</sup> and telling. Compare the following tables<sup>3</sup>:—

I. Pronouns in the different Indo-German languages.

	Sk.	Hindi.	Av.	Gr.	Lat.	Goth.	Lith.	O. Bul.
N.	अहम्	मैं	<i>azem</i>	ἐγώ	<i>ego</i>	<i>ik</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>aze</i>
A.	माम्	मुझे	<i>mam</i>	μέ, } ἐμέ }	<i>mihī</i>	<i>mik</i>	...	<i>mene</i>
D.	मह्यम्	मुझे } मुझको }	<i>mē</i>	μοι } ἐμοί }	<i>mī</i>	( <i>mis</i> )	<i>mi</i>	<i>mē</i>
N.	त्वम्	तू	...	σύ	<i>tū</i>	<i>pu</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>ty</i>
A.	त्वाम्	तुझे	<i>θwam</i>	σέ	<i>tē</i>	<i>puk</i>	...	<i>te</i>
D.	ते	तुझको	<i>te</i>	σοί } τοί }	<i>tibī</i>	...	...	<i>ti</i>

1 Meillet-Printz, *Verg. Gr.* p. 1,15. 2 Otherwise Giles, *Manual* p. 13.

3 Brugmann, *Kurze Grammatik* p. 406. and 412.

## II.

	Sk.	Hindi.	Av.	Gr.	Lat.	Goth.	Slav.
N.	सः	यह	<i>ho</i>	<i>ὁ</i>	<i>iste</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>tž</i>
A.	तम्	यह	<i>tem</i>	<i>τόν</i>	<i>istum</i>	<i>pana</i>	<i>to</i>
G.	तस्य	इसको	<i>tahe</i>	<i>τοιο</i>	<i>istius</i>	<i>pis</i>	
				(fr. <i>τοσιο</i> )			
Abl.	तस्मात्	इससे	...	<i>τῷ-δε</i>	<i>istō (d)</i>	<i>þamma</i>	...
Loc.	तस्मिन्	इसमें	...	<i>ποῖ</i> or <i>(is) tod</i>	<i>þei</i>		...
	सस्मिन्	...	...	<i>τεῖδε</i>	...	<i>þamma teem</i>	

## III. Numerals in the different Indo-German languages

Sk.	Hindi.	Av.	Gr.	Lat.	Goth.	O. Sl.
द्वौ, दुवौ	दो	<i>dva</i>	<i>δύω</i>	<i>duo</i>	<i>twai</i>	<i>dva</i>
त्रयः	तीन	<i>θri</i>	<i>τρεῖς</i>	<i>trēs</i>	<i>þreis</i>	<i>triје</i>
चत्वारः	चार	<i>caθwar</i>	<i>τέτταρες</i>	<i>quattuor</i>	<i>fidwor</i>	<i>cetyre</i>
पञ्च	पांच	<i>panca</i>	<i>πέντε</i>	<i>quinque</i>	<i>finf</i>	<i>penki</i> (Lith.)
षष्ठ	छ	<i>xšvas</i>	<i>ἕξ</i>	<i>sex</i>	<i>saîhs</i>	<i>sžesži</i> „
सप्त	सात	<i>hapta</i>	<i>ἑπτά</i>	<i>septem</i>	<i>sibun</i>	<i>septyni</i> „
अष्टौ, अष्टा	आठ	<i>aṣṭa</i>	<i>ὀκτώ</i>	<i>octo</i>	<i>ahtau</i>	<i>asztùni</i> „
नव	नौ	<i>nawa</i>	<i>ἐννα</i>	<i>novem</i>	<i>niun</i>	<i>newints</i> (o.Pr.)
दश	दस	<i>dasa</i>	<i>δέκα</i>	<i>decem</i>	<i>tehun</i>	...
एकादश	एग्यारह, } ग्यारह }	...	<i>ἐνδεκα</i>	<i>undecim</i>	<i>ain-lif</i>	<i>vënû-lika</i> (Lith.)

For one some two or three stems are current, some only common to some of the Indo-Germanic languages. Lat. has *unus*, Goth. *ains*, Sl. *ino*, Gr. *οἷνή* (in a peculiar sense): Av. *aeva*, Gr. *οἷ*-(F)-*οσ* alone, Sk. एक; Gr. *εἷσ* from *σευς*, Sk. स-कृत्, Gr. *ἄπαχ*, Lat. *semel* is the third stem.

Compare with these, for example, the numerals of the Dravidian group:—

#### IV. Dravidian Table of Numerals.

	Telugu. <sup>1</sup>	Tamil.	Malaylam.	Kanarese.
one	<i>okati</i> <sup>2</sup> } <i>Onḍu</i> }	<i>ondru</i>	<i>onnu</i>	<i>ondu</i>
two	<i>reṇḍu</i>	<i>iraṇḍu</i>	<i>reṇḍu</i>	<i>eraḍu</i>
three	<i>mūḍu</i>	<i>mūnru</i>	<i>mūnna</i>	<i>mūru</i>
four	<i>nālugu</i>	<i>nālu, nāṅgu</i>	<i>nāl, nāṅgu</i>	<i>nālku</i>
five	<i>eidu</i>	<i>eindu</i>	<i>aṅju</i>	<i>eidu</i>
ten	<i>padi</i>	<i>pattu</i>	<i>pattu</i>	<i>pattu</i>
hun- dred }	<i>nūru</i>	<i>nūm</i>	<i>nūru</i>	<i>nūru</i>

As another instance, the following from the Khass i language, an agglutinative one like the Turkish language would be interesting.

#### (1) Pronouns.

<i>nga</i> = I,	<i>ia nga</i> = me,	<i>jong nga</i> = my, mine	<i>ngi</i> = we
<i>me</i> }	<i>ia me</i> = thee	<i>jong me</i> = thine	<i>phi</i> = you
<i>ame</i> }	(f) <i>pha</i>	(f) <i>pha</i>	
<i>u, ka</i> = he	<i>u</i> = him	<i>jong u</i> = his	<i>maki</i> = they
	<i>ia ka</i> <sup>3</sup> = her	<i>u ka</i> = her	

#### (2) Numerals.

*shi* or *wei*, *ar*, *lai*, *saw*, *san*, *hinriw*, *hinniew*, *phrā*, *khyndai*, *shi-phew* = one to ten; *khadwei*, eleven.

1. Caldwell, Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages p. 358.

2. Maratha readers will recognise in these numerals वरुट, रेंड, मुंड etc. of their favourite game of इटी दांड. Although the Marāṭhī has its Indg. numerals, it borrowed these others with the institution of the play, faithfully reserving them for that play only.

3. Roberts, Khassi Grammar pp. 31 and 38.



**23. Characteristics of the principal groups:**—The chief characteristics of these languages or groups of languages might be noted here.

1. Some of the characteristics of the Aryan group; the merging of the simple vowels  $\check{y}$ ,  $\check{o}$ ,  $\check{a}$ , in अ *e. g.* भरामि for Gr. *φέρω*, Lat. *fero*, Goth. *baira*, Old Irish. *berim*, Sl. *bera*; Sk. अवि for Gr. *οἶσ*, Lat. *ovis*, Goth. *awēpi*, (where *pi* denotes group or herd), Lith. *aves*, Ir. *oi*; Sk. अजति, for Gr. *ἄγω*, Lat. *ago*, Old Ir. *agat*, etc.. (2) change of Indog. *a*, into *i*, Sk. पितरः, Gr. *πατήρ*, Lat. *pater*, Goth. *fadar*, Old Ir. *athir*. (3) Change of the original *s* into *ś*, after *i*, *u*, liquids, *s* and *k*: तिष्ठति, Av. *histati*, Gr. *ἵστημι*, etc., (4) gen. pl. in नाम् of vowel stems.

2. The Armenian language is known to us only from the 5th century A. D. (1) Loss of *i* and *u* in syllables except at the end of a word, *hnoy* from *hinoy*, Sk. सनः. (2) Change of Indo-German *n*, *m*, into *an* and *am*. (3) Change of original mediae in tenues, *tasn*, Sk. दश.

3. Greek language:—known to us chiefly through Homer and some old inscriptions. (1) Change of *τ*, *λ*, into *α*, *ρ*, *α*, *αλ*, *λα*. (2) Change of *j*, into *dj*. (3) Dropping of *s* between sonants *γένεος*, Sk. जनासः. (4) Perfect in *k*, *ἔσθηκα*, Sk. तस्थौ. (5) Aorist in *θην*, *εδοθην*.

4. The Italian languages:—known to us since 300 B. C. (1) Original *n*, *m*, become *en*, *em*. (2) *τ*, *λ*, become *or*, *ol*. (3) *f*, *p*, *χ*, from original *bh*, *dh*, *gh*; *e. g.* *fero*, Sk. भरामि. (4) *z* (later *r*) from *s* between vowels; *ezum* (now *ero*), Sk. असत्.

5. The Germanic languages:—the oldest branch of which viz., the Gothic language, is known to us since the 4th century A. D., mainly on account of the translation of the Bible by Bishop Ulfila. (1) *n*, *m*, *τ*, *λ*, become *un*, *um*,

*ur, ul*; e. g. H. Ger. *kumft*, Sk. कृतिः; (where अ represents the sonant *m*. (2) The great sound-shifting, in accordance with what is called *Grimm's Law*; for examples see *supra*.

6. The Balto-Slavonic group is known to us not earlier than the 9th century, when a Bible translation was made in one of the dialects of the group. (1) *n, r* become *in, ir* in one of the important branches. (2) Simplification of double consonants between vowels. (3) Some peculiarities of inflection.

7. The Keltic language, which once spread itself over the whole of western Europe and the British Isles now lives only in small tracts of land like Ireland, Scotland (where it is making room for English) and the Isle of Man. It shows *i* for indg. *ē, ri, li*, for *r, l*, etc.

8. The Albanian language known only since the seventeenth century from scraps of inscriptions, has so changed its character by borrowings from Romance, Slavonic and Turkish languages, that it has almost lost its individuality.

9. The Tokharian language is only recently known to us through the Turpan expedition of German Scholars, during 1902-3 and 1904-5. A people of that name are known to us through the Greeks, who called them *Toxaroi*. They were a section of the Indo-Scythians; they are also known to the *Mahābhārata*<sup>1</sup> as तुखाराः and are mentioned together with खशाः. What is more important is that their language shows affinities with the *centum* group; e. g. *kandh* = Lat. *centum* hundred; *śak* for *dek* = Lat. *deka* ten.

---

1. Grierson, the Pahlavi language, Ind. Ant. XLIII, p. 146

24. Inter-relations between the groups :—These eight groups, besides having a general affinity with one another, show a near relationship with one or several amongst themselves. First and foremost is the broad distinction that divides all the groups into two broader ones. This is based upon a sound-law that is the most celebrated of all such laws for its broadness. It is that certain throat sounds, called by scholars *palatals* in the original Indo-Germanic language, were changed into sibilants in several of the groups, while they retained their explosive character in the remaining groups. This could be easily seen from the word for 100 in the various groups. In *Sk.* शतम्, in *Avesta* *satem*, in *Lith.* *szimtas*; but in *Lat.* *centum*, (speak *kentum*,) *Gr.* ἑκατον (say *hekaton*), in *Celt.* *cet*, (from *kent*), in *Germ.* *hund*. (Goth. from Indo-Germanic. *kent*, by the first sound-shifting) in *Tokh.* *kandh*; or the word for 8 in the different languages; *Sk.* अष्ट, *Lit.* *asztun*, *Lat.* *octo*, *Gr.* ὀκτώ, *Old Ir.* *ochtu*, *Goth.* *ahtau*; or such a word as *Sk.* श्रुतः, *Old Sl.* *slovo* (word), *Gr.* κλυτός, *Lat.* *inclutus*, *Old Ir.* *cloth*, *Goth.* *hluma*; or *Sk.* अश्र, *Arm.* *aseln* (needle), *Lith.* *asztrus*, *Gr.* ἄκροσ, *Lat.* *ains*, *Old.H.* *Germ.* *ahil*; or the word for ten, *Sk.* दश, *Arm.* *tasn*, *Gr.* δέκα, *Lat.* *decem*, *Old Ir.* *dech*; or *Sk.* श्वन्, *Lith.* *sunis*, *Gr.* κύνας, *Lat.* *canes*; compare also the word for twenty *Sk.* विंशति, *Gr.* εἴκοσι, *Lat.* *viginti*, *Tokh.* *wiki*, or *Sk.* विश्र *Av.* *vis*, *Gr.* (F) οἶκος, *Lat.* *vicus*.

Thus we see that the Indo-Aryan, the Armenian, the Albanian and the Litho-slavonic languages show a sibilant, where the Greek, Latin, Germanic, Celtic languages have a palatal sound (what is in Indian grammar called a guttural). To these must be added the recently discovered Tokharian language. These groups are called the *satem* group and the *centum* group respectively; the *Avesta* on the one hand and the *Latin* on the other are

regarded as representatives of the two groups. In the treatment of the labiovelar also the two just named groups of languages differ. In the place of the labiovelars, the so called *satem* languages substitute simple gutturals: *e. g.*  $\pi\acute{o}\theta\epsilon\nu$  ( $\pi$  for *qu* according to a special Gr. phonetic law.) Lat. *quo*, *quis*, Goth. *hwas* (Eng. *what* for *hwat*), but Sk. क, चित् ( $\check{c}$  for क according to the Sk. Palatal law), Alb. *ke* when, Lith. *kas*; Gr.  $\epsilon\pi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ , Lat. *sequor*, Old Ir. *sechen*, but Sk. सचते, Lith. *seku*. One would almost be tempted to translate the distinction to the geographical sphere and say, that the Eastern group shows a *ś* or *s*, *k* or *c* where the Western group shows a *k* or *kwa*; but the newly discovered Tokharian language, which although found in the East, belongs phonetically to the Western group, comes in our way. 100 in that language is expressed by the word *kandh*. Another grouping, not so evenly distributed, is caused by the falling together of the simple vowels *e*, *o*, *a* into *a* in the Indo-Aryan group, which therefore is to be distinguished from the remaining Indo-Germanic languages.

But the law or laws on which the distinction is based are at any rate broader. We cannot, for instance, put forward a different grouping, say like Sanskrit, Avesta, Gothic on the one side and the Armenian, Albanian, Greek, Latin Celtic, Lithuanian and Slavonic on the other, simply because the treatment of the old Indo-Germanic *o* is common to the three first named languages; *e. g.* Sk. जम्भ: Gr. γόμφος, O. H. Ger. *chamb*; Sk. तत्, Gr. το, Lat. *istud*, Goth. *θata*; Sk. भरन्ति, Gr. (Doric)  $\phi\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu\tau\iota$ , Lat. *ferunt*, Goth. *bairand*, because it is not possible to say, for instance, to which group the Slavonic language should belong, which shows *zab* for Sk. जम्भ, *berant*, for Sk. भरन्ति, but again, *to* for Sk. तत्; and it would land us into unnecessary difficulties, as a chance coinci-



dence of a simple sound in a few Indo-Germanic languages only, but not in others, will necessitate redistribution into different groups. For the same reasons we cannot recognise a Germanic-Armenian group, simply because in both of them the treatment of the tenuis is similar; *e.g.* Sk. दश, Latin *decem*, Gr. δέκα, but Germ. *taihun*, Arm. *tasn*; Sk. वेद, Gk. οἶδα, Lat. *video*, Old Sl. *vede*, but Germ. *wait*, Arm. *gitem*. Hirt actually makes a distinction between West Indo-German and East Indo-German.<sup>1</sup>

Except when we know for certain from other sources that the languages, which show certain marked resemblances with one another as against others, were in some remote period neighbouring languages, or at least that there was a free and close intercourse between them, we can only call these resemblances accidental ones. The assimilation of conjuncts in various modern languages, *e. g.* Prākṛit *kk* for *kt* in कृक for कृक, Italian *cotto* for Lat. *coctus* is to be explained in this way. Such resemblances are due to a general tendency observable in all modern languages owing their origin to the old Indo-Germanic languages. It is sufficient therefore to have recognised certain groups based upon broad principles of phonology.

**25. Indo-Balto-Slavonic and Graeco-Italo-Celtic groups:—** The close affinity of the Sanskrit & Avestan *i. e.* the Aryan group with the Lithu-Slavonic or Balto-Slavonic group, is incontestably proved and recognised by all scholars. But there has always been an attempt on the part of certain scholars to set up other groups, *e. g.* the Graeco-Italian or the Italo-Celtic group. Now it is true that these resemblances cannot be called accidental or due to a general tendency. The resemblances observable in such closely associated languages as the Greek and the Italian, or the Italian and

<sup>1</sup> Hirt, Handbuch der Griechischen Laut- und Formenlehre p. 22.



the Celtic, or the Celtic and the Germanic, cannot indeed be so explained away. We can believe that the Greeks and the Italians had independently adopted certain new changes before they separated and descended from the Danube plains into Greece and Italy respectively. Just the same is the case with the Italians & Celtic people who dwelt amongst the Alps before separating west-and southwards. Certain peculiarities belong only to the Greek and Italian languages: *e. g.* (1) the change into hard aspirates of the middle aspirates of the old Indo-Germanic language. Sk. रभस्, Gr. *véφος*; *φράτα*, Gr. *φράτωρ*, Lat. *frater*; Sk. term. भिस्, Gr. *φιν*, Lat. *bus*; (2) the formation of gen-plu. of *ā* stems by adding *asom* in the manner of pronouns; Gr. *θεων* (from *θεασων*), Lat. *mensarum* (*r* for intervocalic *s*); (3) treatment of *o* stems as feminines; Gr. *ἡ-φήγος*, Lat. *haec fagus*. On the other hand, certain changes are common to Greek, Italian and Celtic, showing that these were once close neighbours, and, after adopting certain common changes, separated, the Italo-Celts towards the South-West and the Greeks towards the South-East. The former, after living together for some time in the Alps, again separated, the Italians to the South, and the Celts to the West-North-West. Besides belonging to the great *centum* group, these three languages show other common peculiarities *e. g.* (1) they represent the original long liquids and sonant nasals by *rā, lā, mā, nā*. Sk. स्त्रीर्ण, Gr. *στρωτός*, Lat. *stratus*; Sk. पूर्वे, Gr. Doric *πράν, πρατος*; Sk. पूर्ण, Celtic *i. e.* Old Ir. *lan*; or Sk. ऊर्णा, Lat. *lāna*, (for *vlāna*); Sk. दाम्यति Gr. *δαμνός* (*η* from *ā*, *e. g.* *νέο-δματος*), Lat. *māteres, gnātus*, Gallic *cintu-gnātus*; Sk. आति' water fowl, Gr. *ῥήσσα* (*η* for *ā*); Sk. चान्त, Gr. *θυνητός* for *θFvūtός*. They all drop the ancient intervocalic *j*. Examples are rare and disputed. Hirt<sup>1</sup> quotes Gr. *χάσκω*, Lat. *hiare*, and *πτύω* from *πτιυω*.

1. Hirt, O. C. p. 191.

*a. Individual isolated resemblances do not warrant closer grouping:*—If individual resemblances here and there could enable one to establish closer affinity between two languages, the treatment of the sonant nasal, for instance, in the Greek and the Aryan languages ought to suggest that these two perhaps were more closely associated than others. *e. g.* Sk. शतम्, Gr. ἑκατον (*a* for sonant nasal in both), but Lat. *centum*; Sk. गम्यते, Gr. βαίω (for *bamio*), but Lat. *venio*; Sk. दश, Gr. δέκα, but Lat. *decem*; Sk. मर्तम् मतिः, Gr. ματος in αὐτόματος, but Lat. *mentis*; Sk. नामन्, Gr. ὄνομα, Lat. *nomen*. Nor should the resemblance in the infinitive formation between the Greek and the Aryan group be taken as a conclusive proof of their close association: Gr. ἰδμεναι, Sk. विद्महे; in Sk. this infinitive is rare: Gr. δοῦναι, for *doFevai*, Sk. दावहे; Gr. τιθέσθαι, Sk. पिबध्यै etc. The Latin too shows some of these forms; and the coincidence between the two languages is rather to be explained in this way, that the old Indo-Germanic language had a variety of these forms and only the Greek and the Aryan branches agreed in retaining some peculiar ones. The relation of the Greek with the Avesta would perhaps have to be recognised as closer, if the simple fact, that both represent an initial sibilant by the aspirate, is taken into consideration: Sk. सप्त, Av. *hapta*, Gr. ἑπτά; Sk. स्था-तिष्ठति, Av. *histati*, Gr. ἱστῆται; Sk. सूकर, Gr. ὄσ, Lat. *sus*; Sk. संचते Gr. ἐπομαι. But this is impossible, because of such history of the wanderings of the various Indo-German stems as can now possibly be reconstructed.

*b. The Tokharian, a centum language:*—It is but right that some reference should be made to a newly discovered language, viz. the Tokharian. It was discovered among the mass of Buddhistic plays—rather fragments of them—as a result of the German Turfan expedition in Eastern Turkestan (1902-3 and 1904-5). From these, scholars have

been able to gather some knowledge about the language; it appears to be a *centum* language; *e.g.* *okadh* = 8, *okduk* = 80, *wiki* = 20, and *kandh* = 100. Words like *por*, Gr. *πῦρ*, O. H. G. *fiur*, Eng. *fire*, *laks*, a kind of fish, O. H. G. *laks*, also show that it is a language similar to the Western group.

The speakers of this language were known to the Ancient Greeks, who called them '*Toχαιοι*' a race recognised as part of the Indo-Scythians. They founded their power upon the ruins of the Graeco-Bactrian Empire about the 2nd century before Christ.

Besides these—now nine—principal languages or groups of languages there are others less known, now totally extinct. There is the language of the Phrygians who, together with the Armenians, migrated from the north of Greece into Asia Minor; that of the Venetors and so forth. It is not at all paying to devote more than passing attention to these, for their remains are so scanty and unreliable that nothing more could be said about them. It is enough to know that they were Indo-German idioms.

**26. The course of migration of the speakers of different groups:**—It is these affinities of certain groups that have enabled us to guess the general course of the migration of the Indo-Germanic people. The migration of the biggest of them *i. e.* the Germanic group has gradually taken place in historical times. We know, for instance, how the Angles and Saxons migrated from their home in the heart of Germany to Great Britain. When they appeared in England, the country belonged to the Picts and Scots. The same was the case of the habitation of Iceland to the north of Great Britain. The Danes, the Swedish and the Norwegians also migrated from their home in middle Germany. History has told us part of this only; but comparative study of languages keeps no secrets. It tells us that all these were

once one people and spoke one common language; and linguistic science, aided and supplemented by early history where possible, has shed astonishing light over these questions.

Coming nearer home, we find the Indian Aryans entering India through the Khyber pass and fighting their way across the country of the seven rivers. The earliest historical and semi-historical document tells us that in those days, *i. e.* some three thousand years before the Christian Era, they had not quite settled themselves as yet along the banks of the Jumna and the Ganges. Their immigration into trans-Vindhyan India is a matter of still later date and is sung by the people amongst their oldest legends. Comparison between the Vedic Sanskrit and the Avesta takes us still further back, and points to a hoary past, when the speakers of these two languages were sitting together in the region between the Caspian Sea and the Ural Lake, or north of Persia and Afghanistan. That this place too was not their original home, but that they, together with the speakers of the Balto-Slavonic languages, must have had a common home somewhere in North mid-Russia is made clear by the resemblances between the Indo-Aryan and the Balto-Slavonic languages, two sub-groups of the great *satem* group.

The spread of the Latin idioms or Romance languages is an event of still later date. We know how the language of the conquering Romans accompanied them wherever they conquered and succeeded in ousting less finished idioms. The history of the dispossession of the Celtic, however tragic it must have been, is a very interesting study from the linguistic point of view. But the language that travelled from Rome into Portugal, Spain, France, and Roumania was itself a newcomer in Rome. It had got in there, after its speakers and the speakers of the Celtic language had parted



from the mid-Alpine region. And this too was not their original home.

They and the speakers of the Greek dialects possessed linguistic affinities, which point to a very close contact. Such was possible to both only on the plains of the South-Danube. From here the Greeks descended through Macedonia into the several isles of Greece, and their epic bears full testimony to this fact. One branch shot eastwards and settled along the coast of Asia Minor.

The Celtic wanderings too are as interesting as the others. After occupying the greater portion of France, they shot across the Channel into part of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland. The Celts in France abandoned their language just as the Parsis in India abandoned theirs. But the Irish still speak their old language with much feeling.

We have roughly followed the course of the wanderings of the several branches of the Indo-German family. After tracing these, we ask ourselves whether this is all. It cannot of course be all. The Germans on the course of the upper Danube, the Italians and Greeks on the lower Danube, and the Indo-Aryans and Balto-Slavs in mid Russia, must have migrated from a common home, if the similarity of the idioms they speak has got any value. Where could it have been?

27. The original home of all:—There have been several attempts to answer this question, and there will be many more without perhaps settling the question once for all. For, the means to arrive at a solution are wanting, and what one can do in their absence is mere guess work. So many points in the history of those languages must have been irrecoverably lost, that what has remained to us is perhaps only a fragment. The same is the difficulty in the



reconstruction of the original language. No one knows how many idioms are lost without any trace, whose discovery might have revolutionized our linguistic ideas, just as the discovery to Europe of the Sanskrit language did during the first half of the 19th century. No one also knows how many languages will be discovered like the Tokharian.

Still the question of the original home can be negatively answered. It could not have been France, it could not have been India, nor Iran, nor Central Asia. A long stretch of land between the North Sea and the Sea of Ural comes into consideration in this respect. But it is likely that there was still a smaller home. Some claim that it was in the Arctic regions in the extreme north of Russia or Russian Siberia. Others believe that it must have been in Scandinavia, which theory Mr. Tilak<sup>1</sup> has controverted, and which is impossible from our tracing of the migration of the Germanic branch of the Indo-Germanic group. So far at any rate is clear, that the original home must have been somewhere to the Northwest of Hungary and to the North of the Black and Caspian Seas. Further than *this* we are not justified in saying in the present state of our knowledge. Keith<sup>2</sup> has most recently dealt with the whole question at length.

28. Civilization as disclosed by comparison of languages:—Just as from the comparison of several languages, we are able to trace one common language called the Indo-Germanic language, their common parent, in the same way we can conclude that that language must have been spoken by one people whom we are pleased to call primitive Indo-Germanic people, and thus we can form an idea of the culture of that

---

1 Tilak, Arctic Home in the Vedas, p. 418

2 Article on the Indo-Europeans in the Bhandarkar Memorial Volume.

people. Comparative Philology is the first means to that end, because that science determines the stock of words that belonged to that language, and thus makes it possible to know what ideas had even then found expression.

When we perceive that our word गाय, Sk. गी corresponds exactly to the words Gr. βῶν, Lat. bōs, Irish bo, old Slav. *govedo*, or the word पिता, to the Gr. πατήρ, Lat. *pater*, Goth. *fadar*, Irish. *athir*, or our Mar. जु, Sk. युग्म, with Gr. ζυγόν, Latin *jugum*, old Slav *igo*, we are justified in drawing a conclusion that the objects, ideas and customs represented by these and such other words were already primitive Indo-Germanic. We are here not mere linguists but naturalists, antiquarians, and sociologists in one.

*The aid of archaeology:*—But it is not always that all Indo-Germanic languages possess the same word. Sometimes only two or three of them have a word for an idea common amongst themselves. Here archaeology helps us. We shall look into the periods it puts forward, and see whether the characteristics of each discovered by that science, agree with the results of our science.

(a) *Characteristics of the Stone age:*—People lived in houses in raised stockades of wood, which constituted the chief material; the weapons were of stone. The culture represented by this is the same as our linguistic historical studies would have us believe. This is subdivided into palaeolithic and neolithic.

(b) *Metal age:*—Copper they say was the first metal to be discovered. Sk. अयम्, Lat. *aes*, Goth. *aiz-erz*, Ger. *aehern*. This was melted and poured into certain weapons (1) Sk. परशु, Greek πέλεκυσ. (2) Sk. अस्ति, Lat. *ensis*. (3) Sk. आरा, O. H. G. *ala*, Germ. *apla*.

The original Indo-German period could therefore be characterized as stone-copper period.

Moreover, the existence of many important items *e. g.* the domestic animals, the arts of sowing, spinning, weaving etc. is conclusively proved—by comparing the several Indo-Germanic languages—during the primitive period of the Indo-Germanic language. Such other things and objects, as for instance, ass, mule, cat or rye, hemp etc. which are not proved to have existed in this period are also absent from the oldest phase of the Indo-Germanic language.

The history of *iron* is very interesting. The Teutonic languages borrowed it from the Celtic: Germ. *eisen*, Goth. *eisarn*, Kelt. *iarn*, while yet the intervocalic *s* was present in the Keltic *isarno*. Very likely, together with the name for iron, the Germans borrowed the name of the spear from the Celts: O. H. G. *ger*, Celt, *gaiso*, Irish *gai*. Ultimately, the Germans carried the word to the Romans, Lat. *gaesum*, and to the Greeks, Gr. γαῖσος. Archaeology, in perfect accord with this, has proved that the oldest iron-fields in Bornholm or Hallstatt, were of pre-Roman days and, to a great extent, point to a Celtic possession.

Archaeology and linguistics therefore must go hand in hand and aid each other in these things. But the province of archaeology is necessarily limited, as its sole basis is the things that are preserved; food and drink, on the other hand, or how milk-preparations were made, or how the agricultural instruments were prepared,—on these points archaeology is necessarily silent. And, what is most important, archaeology has not told, and can never tell us, anything definitely about the primitive family, the state, law and religion, in short, about all that we understand by mental culture.

In these cases comparative linguistic study is the only guide. If, for instance, we find a particular institu-

tion, say marriage or church, or particular facts and realities *e. g.* an immoral act like theft, described and severely punished, in all the Indo-Germanic languages, we conclude that it must have been so with all those peoples in pre-historic times.

Compare for instance *Sk.* विधवा, *Lat.* *vidua*, *Goth.* *widuwo*, *Germ.* *witwe*, *English* *widow*; there is however no corresponding word for *widower*. The very word *widower* is based upon the old word *widow* and was not independently used; *e. g.* *Sk.* विधुर is an adj. and means *bereaved*. We see, therefore, what is meant by this: the institution of widowhood must have been pre-historic; and in such a way, that widows were either not allowed to remarry, or great obstacles were placed in the way of their marriage, but none in the case of men.

Take *Sk.* अविः, *Gr.* *οἰς*, *Lat.* *ovis*, *O. H. G.* *ou*, *Engl.* *ewe*. It shows that this domestic animal was already known in old Indo-Germanic times. *Goth.* *hlifan*, *Lat.* *cleptor*, *Gr.* *κλέπτω*, show that theft also was a time-honoured institution. These and other identities clearly tell us that the institutions and facts, thus expressed by a common term, in all these Indo-Germanic languages, must have belonged to a period before their separation.

We shall now try to paint a picture of the culture of the people, and following Schrader, who is the best authority on the subject, deal with the following points: (i) Domestic and communal life. (ii) Habitation. (iii) Drink. (iv) Industry and commerce. (v) Divisions of time. (vi) Family. (vii) Tribes and nations. (viii) Blood revenge. (ix) Religion.

1. *Domestic and communal life.* The first important fact is that the names of domestic animals, excepting the ass



mule and cat, are found in the European as well as the Asiatic Indo-Germanic languages.

Sk. उर्ध्व, Goth. *auhsa*, Ger. *ochse*; Av. *staora*, big cattle, Goth. *stiur*, Ger. *stier*; Sk. गौ, Gr. *βούρ*, Lat. *bo*, Ger. *kuh*; Sk. सूकर, Gr. *σῦς*, Lat. *sūs*, Ger. *sau* and *schwein*; for अवि: see above. Sk. अश्व, Gr. *ἵππος*, Lat. *equos*; Sk. श्व, Gr. *κῑων* Lat. *canis*, Ger. *hund*. Then the word for cattle in general is Sk. पशु, Lat. *pecus*, Goth. *faihu*, Ger. *vieh*, Eng. *fee*. These also show the acquaintance of the pre-historic Indo-germans with cattle-breeding. पशु was to them also *wealth*. In Veda गर्वेषण, गर्विष्ठि, means search for wealth, also battles for its possession. In Lat. *pecunia* means money; this is taken over into the English language in the form *pecuniary*.

In hoary days the dowry was paid in cows; Dakṣhiṇā was paid to Brahmins in cows. Even as late as in the Upaniṣhads<sup>1</sup> we find the old custom preserved, when जनक wanting to settle a dispute says: ब्राह्मणा भगवन्तो यो वो ब्रह्मिष्ठः स एता गा उदजताम्—'whoever among you, ye revered Brahmins, knows ब्रह्मन् best might carry away these cows'.

The main subsistence was also on cattle and their produce. The Vedic word गन्वाशिरम्, food mixed with some form of milk, गन्व्य, and the name given to the north Europeans of old, Gr. *γαλακτοτροφούντες* 'those who subsist on milk,' also point to the same thing. Cattle flesh prepared in a certain way is called in Sk. मांस, Goth. *mimz*; Sk. मज्जा, Av. *mazga*, O.H.G. *marg*. Food is cooked and boiled; Sk. पक्, Gr. *πέσσω*, Lat. *coquo*, Ger. *backen*, Eng. *bake*. Germ. *mark* was also used as food. A common word for milk is found only in the western Indo-German languages; Gr. *γάλα* milk and *αμελγω*, Lat. *mulgeo* and Ger. *melken*. But



for milk preparations we have Indo-German words; Sk. सार, Lat. *serum*, Gr. ὀρος; Sk. अङ्ग, Lat. *ungen*, Ger. *anke*; Sk. सर्पिः, Gr. ἐλφος (butter), Gr. *salbe*.

Cattle served them for dress also. The Germans are described by Caesar as clad in hides. The Greek word for that ῥηνοφορεῖν 'wearing sheep skin' is connected with Sk. उरण, Gr. ἀρῆν, a lamb. They knew the use of wool; Sk. ऊर्णा, Lat. *vellus*, Goth. *wulla*, Ger. *wolle*, and also how to weave it; e.g. Gr. ὑφαίνω, O.H.G. *weben*, seen in the Sk. word (ऊर्ण)-वाम.

But besides cattle-rearing, they also carried on agriculture, which perhaps was new to them; Gr. ἀρώ, Lat. *arare*. It is significant to note that the Aryan branch has not much in common with the European branch in this respect, i. e. in so far as words for seed, instruments etc. go. Sk. अञ्ज, Lat. *ager*, Ger. *acker*, Eng. *acre*, although phonetically identical differ slightly in meaning. The names of different kinds of corn and trees e. g. Sk. भूर्ज, Ger. *birke*, Eng. *birch*, are also not common to the two groups. We may assume therefore that agriculture was taken up later by the Eastern than by the Western branch.

Hunting appears to be a common pastime, known to the pre-historic peoples living together. Some wild beasts then known are Sk. वृकः, Gr. λύκος, Ger. *wolf*; Sk. कृष्ट, Gr. ἄρκτος; Sk. उद, Gr. ὕδρος, Ger. *otter*, and other game is Sk. हर्ष, Ger. *hase*; Sk. कृष्ट, Ger. *alces*. For oriental wild beasts there is no common word.

II. *Habitation*. The idea of a country looked upon as motherland, is a much later one, and this is but natural in the case of a people that is yet in a migratory state. The idea of a clan, Gr. γένος, जन, tribe, people, विश, or Gr. οἶκος, was more primitive and therefore more predominant. We

have यादृम् जनम्<sup>1</sup> and पाञ्चजनी विश्<sup>2</sup> in Rgveda: thus also we have the Bharatas first, and then their country भारत or भारतवर्ष.

The idea of village, town, city, etc., developed later. The word पू: Gr. πόλις, originally meant only a *burg*, a *castle*; e. g. आयसी पू<sup>3</sup>: a citadel of copper, what among the Greeks is known as ἀκρόπολις, Lat. *polis*, fort, Lith *pilis*, Let. *pilsseta*.

The same is expressed by the old Celtic *dunum*, (found in names like Novis-dunum) which is also found in English *town*, and Ger. *zaun*, which word means *hedge*. To these corresponds in meaning the old Slavonic *gores*, a city e. g. Ivangorod, Novgorod, the Ger. *garten*, English *garden*, from the same word, originally meaning a plot of ground with a hedge surrounding it. The village then must have first consisted of a number of such plots or castles within one definite area. Such a village is called in Goth. *weihs*, Lat. *vicus*, Sk. विश्, Av. *vis*.

The people lived in houses with doors and posts. Sk. दम्, Gr. δόμος, Lat. *domus*; Sk. द्वार, Gr. θύρα, Lat. *fores*, Goth. *daur*, Ger. *tür*. Eng. *door*; Sk. स्तूणा, Gr. στήλη, O. H. G. *stollo*, Ger. *stollen*; Gr. στέγος, τέγος, O. H. G. *dah*, Ger. *dach*, Eng. *thatch*. This gives an idea of roofed houses, supported by pillars. They had open fire, and cooked in earthen or iron utensils. Sk. चर्च, Old Ir. *core*, old Nors. *hverr*; Sk. उखा kettle, Lat. *auxilla*, Ger. *ofen*.

*III Drink*:—Much need not be said regarding this. Sk. मधु, Av. *madu*, Gr. μέθυ, O. H. G. *metu*, Eng. *mead*, was the common drink. It must have been sweet, as the word modified denoted sweet; Gr. μέλι, Lat. *mel*, Goth. *milob*.

1 Rv. VIII 6, 48.

2 Rv. VIII 63, 7.

3 Rv. VII. 15, 14.

Sk. सोम Av. *haoma*, stands by itself. It has not been possible to identify either the plant or the stuff that was brewed and drunk with so much relish.

*IV Trade and Industry:*—That even in pre-historic times of which we are speaking, there must have been some commerce between village and village or town and town, is clearly shown by antiquarian research. The science of language also points to the same fact. Commerce must have consisted chiefly in barter<sup>1</sup>, and been carried on by strangers who were often hated; e.g. the पणिस<sup>2</sup> in Rv. who are called usurers, ungodly and the like. The word is generally related to Gr. *πέρνημι*.

Sk. क्रीणामि, Gr. *πρίαμαι* to sell; for the price paid we have Sk. वस्त्र Gr. *ὄνος*, Lat. *venum*. This price was measured in cows, if no barter was possible. The German word *kaufen*, Old Ger. *koufan*, meant both to buy and sell.

Sk. मिमामि, Gr. *μέδιμνος*, Lat. *modius*, seen in Eng. *commodity*, Ger. *messen* are common words showing that the people could measure things. Words like वितस्ति, Gr. *ὠλένη*, Ger *fuss*, show that parts of the body were used as measure. Metals were known from the earliest times, but whether they were used in trade is a question. Sk. लोह, Av. *rôd*, Lat. *raudus*. For copper and पशु, Gr. *πέλεκυς*, see above. The Indo-Germans knew many arts and bartered away or sold the products. Besides weaving, they also knew sewing; Sk. सिव्, Lat. *suo*, Goth. *siujan*; they made bow-strings; Sk. ज्या, *βίος*; could file arrows, Sk. इष्टु, Gr. *ῥός*. They understood either to make out of stone or copper such instruments as Sk. क्षुर, Gr. *ξύρον*; Sk. असि, Lat. *ensis*, sword; Gr. *ἀξίνη*, Lat. *ascia*, Goth. *aquizi*, axe and to prepare mud for making

<sup>1</sup> Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> Rv. VIII. 66, 10. Especially Macdonell and Keith *Vedic Index* I. 47.

pots: Sk. दिह्, Lat. *figulus* the potter, Goth. *deigan*; and to make out of it Sk. चई, Old Ir. *core*, old Nors. *hverr*, a pot and ऊर्खा, Lat. *auxilla*, Ger. *offen* a kettle. It is perhaps too much to conclude from this that the industries developed separately and that there were smiths and goldsmiths, potters and other artisans. Yet is Sk. तक्षन्, Gr. τέκτον, carpenter, a very old artisan of the Indo-Germans. For common numerals see above.

*V Divisions of time:*—The year was the longest unit; but it seems to have originally been named after the season. The first name it received was after winter Sk. हेमन्त, हिमा, Gr. χειμών, Lat. *hiems*, winter. The Latin words *bimus*, *trimus* meaning two and three years old, come from *hiems*; the same is the case with Gr. χίμαρος, a goat, which originally meant an yearling. Even the Indian Aryans spoke<sup>1</sup> of शतं हिमा: hundred winters, *i. e.* hundred years; although in other places, they preferred to name the year after autumn *e. g.* शतं नो रास्त्र शरदः<sup>2</sup>. The old name for summer, which the Indian Aryans called वर्षा in conformity with the climatic conditions of the land they entered, is still to be seen in the word समा: which originally meant half year and then a year. Sk. समो, Av. *ham*, Arm. *amarn*, Ir. *sam*, O. H. G. *sumar* Eng. *summer*. It is remarkable that Sk. वसन्त, Gr. ἔαρ, Lat. *ver* spring, was never raised to that dignity. But a common independent word for the year was already there; Sk. वत्सर, Gr. *Fétos*, Alb. *viêt*, Sk. पश्व (उत् from वत् in वत्सर), Gr. *περῦσι*; last year.

The month was already known to be the next smaller division, as the day and night was the smallest. Sk. मास also चन्द्रमास, Gr. *μήν* (*μήνη* moon), Lat. *mensis*, Goth. *mēna*, Ger. *monat*, Eng. *month*, and *moon*. The names of months were

1 Rv. II. 33, 2; V. 54, 15.

2 Rv. II. 27, 10.



evolved separately and later by each people, or rather by the two groups of people. There is also no common word for *week*. Words for *day* and *night* are common; Sk. दाघ (in निदाघ), Goth. Ger. *tag*, Eng. *day*; Sk. नक्तम्, Gr. νύξ, and Ger. *nacht*, Eng. *night*.

For divisions of the day, there were expressions of rather a primitive kind. *e.g.* संग्रह *midday*, lit. the time when cows came together; or Gr. βου-λυτόν-δε, the time when cows are let loose; or Irish *im-buarach*, morning *i.e.* the time the cows are bound. The names of days, however, show a reciprocation which is not at all found in names of months.

*VI The Family*:—All the branches of the Indo-Germanic family of languages show the family relationships and names indicating them in the same developed state. Besides words for father, mother, brother, sister, and grandson, which we saw were common to all branches, there are a few others worthy of note.

Sk. पितृव्य, Gr. πατήρ, Lat. *patruus*, Ger. *vetter* (orig. uncle)  
 „ स्तुर्वा „ νῆος, „ *nurus*, „ *schnur*, O.H.G. *snur*  
 „ देवर् „ δαήρ, „ *levir*, O. H. G. *zeihhur*  
 „ यातरः, „ εἰνάτερες, „ *janitrices*

Amongst the pre-historic Indo-Germans, marriage appears to have taken place in two ways: either by buying, —a form preserved and mentioned in the *Manusmṛti*<sup>1</sup>; or by carrying away the girl by force, also mentioned in ancient Law books.<sup>2</sup> पाणिग्रहण or taking of the hand appears to have been the central part of the marriage. The bride was carried away from her father's house; she is called Sk. वर्यः, Av. *vadu*; Old Rus. *woditi* which means carrying away of a bride. Cf. also Sk. बह्वु marriage, Av. *vaz*.

1 III. 29.

2 E. G. Manu III. 33.



Man and wife filled a very important position in the old family system. The man is the master of the house *e. g.* Sk. पतिः, Gr. *πόσις*, Goth. *faþs*, contained in *bruþfaþs*, bridegroom; Sk. दम्पती, Gr. *δες-πότης*, (for *δεμς πότης*). The wife correspondingly is called Sk. पत्नी, Gr. *πότνια*. Their chief aim was by progeny to continue the race, and make for bliss in the other world. Such being the importance attached to progeny, we find prevalent in ancient India, as in Greece, Italy, Germany and Scandinavia, the practice of what is called *नियोग*.<sup>1</sup> It is needless to go deeper into details of this subject, and to indicate the position in the family of the several relations, who were called in Sk. *वंशुः*, Gr. *πενθερός*, in a slightly different sense.

VII. *Tribes and people* :—The common word for people is Sk. *जन*, Gr. *γένος*, found also in English *generic*. The Gr. *ἄνθρωπος*, *ἔθνος*, *φύλον*, as also the O. H. G. *liute*, Ger. *leute* find no counterpart in the Aryan group. We already know the word<sup>2</sup> Sk. *विश्व*, Gr. *οἶκος*. These people or tribes had their own leaders and were often recognised by their names *e. g.* *याद्वम् जनम्* (see *supra*). The leader of the clan or people was *विश्वपति*, Av. *vis-paiti*, Lith. *wiesz-pats*; if several clans combined, a *राज*, Lat. *rêx*. This leader or king was often elected<sup>3</sup> by the people in an assembly called Sk. *सभा*, Goth. *sibja*, Ger. *sippe*, but more often he was hereditary<sup>4</sup>. But still he respected<sup>5</sup> the *सभा* or *समिति* of the people where public questions were discussed.

1 Manu, IX 59 ff.

2 We cannot agree with the difference pointed out by Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 15 between *विश्व* & *जन*. In Veda they are synonymous

3 Rv. X 124, 8 *विश्वो न राजानं वृणानाः* like people electing their king.

4 See the long line of *वध्वन्ध*, *दिनोदास*, and *सुदास* *पेजेवन*.

5 Rv. IX 92, 6 *राजं न सत्यः समितिं गिरयानः* like a good king going to assemblies.

It is always to be understood, as is so clearly demonstrated in the ten-kings-fight in the R̥gveda, that these tribes by no means lived always in peace with each other.

The other fact that these tribes, races, or peoples did not preserve their solidarity, but mixed even with the aborigines, is equally obvious. The question of race-mixture therefore need not detain us.

*VIII Blood revenge:*—This is a remarkable feature of the primitive people. Life was taken for life with the unfailingness of a natural law. The idea is conveyed by such words as Sk. चि, चयते, अपचितिः, Gr. τίσις, and Av. *kaēnā*, Ir. *cain*, Gr. ποινή. Of course the duty of revenge fell upon certain very close relations. But there was always the possibility of escaping revenge by payment of a fine or *wergeld*. This idea is contained in Sk. वैर, M. H. G. *were*, O. Russ. *vira*. The original meaning of the word *wergeld*, is man-money, e. g. Sk. वीर, Lat. *vir*, Goth. *wair*.

*IX. Religion:*—Antiquarian research and linguistics teach us that even the most primitive people believed in a soul and a life after death: thus Sk. आत्मन्, O. H. G. *ātum*, Ger. *atem*. The passing of the soul<sup>1</sup> was celebrated in ceremonies common to all the Indo-German people, with of course slight differences. The chief difference is that the Indians *burned* their dead, while the Western people *buried* them.

Another feature of the religion of these primitive people is ancestor-worship. Daily service offered to them is called in Sk. पितृयज्ञ. The Śrāddha ceremony finds a counterpart in some old Russian customs of feasting the poor on the day of fathers.

---

1. Rv. X, 14 and 16.

Although there were many Gods, the idea of a God-Father was even then known: Sk. योः पिता, Lat. *Juppiter*, Gr. Ζεύς πατήρ. There was also a mother of Gods, the अदिति of the Rgveda. Fire was due to them both, and was worshipped with oblations. Sk. अग्नि Lith. *ugnis*, Russ. *ogon*, Lat. *ignis*. Sk. उषस्, Gr. ἑως, Lat. *aurora* was amongst the many luminaries that were worshipped. Among the common words for God was Sk. देव, Lat. *deus*, Lith. *dievas*. Another deity worshipped is वरुण, Gr. Οὐρανός.

The worship was by sacrifice, and was elaborate, and required a priest-class that was in the nature of things predominant.

The ethical value of the worship of gods was perhaps not very great. The gods are mighty, full of dazzling light, and therefore to be feared, always to be held in awe. Epithets like अतिथि जनानाम् the guest of men, and Gr. Ζεύς. ξένιος, the protector of hospitality, are rare. Of all the Vedic gods, only वरुण impresses us by his moral grandeur.

Priesthood was perhaps even then existent; although not so powerful as it became with most of the branches, after they separated by migration from their original home.

---

## PART III.

---

### THE INDO-IRANIAN OR ARYAN GROUP.

29. **Aryan Group:**—We enter upon the third great division of our subject, the Aryan group. To this group belong, as we have already seen, the Vedic language with its developments viz. Pāli and the Prākritis, called middle Indian dialects, and the modern vernaculars; and the old Iranian, consisting of the language of the Avistāk or the oldest scriptures of the Parsees or fire-worshippers, called Avestā, and that of the Inscriptions of king Darius and his followers.

The story of the discovery of the Iranian language to the world of scholars is interesting, although perhaps not germane to our subject. The texts of the Avesta were taken to Europe in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, but no one could read them, until an enthusiastic Frenchman, Anquetil du Perron sailed for India in 1754, and studied the language and character with the Parsee priests at Surat for about eight years. He published a text and translation in 1771.

The study of the language by Europeans dates from the close of the eighteenth century; and although the close affinity between the two languages was noticed by different scholars, the exact relation between the Sanskrit and the Avesta was pointed out in 1826 by the Danish scholar Rask, who had travelled in Persia and India, and had taken back to Copenhagen many Mss. of Avesta and Pahlvi works. It was indeed when Sanskrit scholars began to study Avesta that the relationship was fully discovered and finally settled.

The results of that labour are embodied by Bopp in his comparative grammar. Now-a-days in Europe, just as much importance is given to Avesta studies as was being given to Sanskrit in the latter half of the last century; and, Darmesteter, Bartholomae, Spiegel, Hübschmann, Justi, Mills, and Geldner are now among the most famous Avesta scholars.

Avesta is the language of the collection of holy books of the Zoroastrians. Part of this collection is written in a dialect called Gāthā-Avestic, which is older than the other one, and bears very close affinity to the language of the Vedic hymns. It is impossible to determine the date of the language or the works written in it, just as is the case with our Veda. But so much is certain, that the oldest part, at any rate, does linguistically in no way fall far behind the Veda in antiquity.

While speaking of the Avesta or language of the Zoroastrian Veda, we cannot lose sight of the other old Iranian dialect, namely that represented by the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius, called by scholars old Persian dialect only. These two are supposed to form the Eastern and the Western forms respectively of the old Iranian language. The old Persian was the court language of Persian kings from Darius I. (B. C. 521-485) and is found in the inscriptions of several kings of his dynasty, called the Achemenian dynasty.

A younger form of old or Achemenian Persian is the Pahlavi, preserved for us in the inscriptions of kings of the Sassanian dynasty. The oldest of such inscriptions is the one dating in the reign of Artāšatar-i-Pāpakān or Ardashir (226-241 A. D.). It is in a form of this Pahlvi that commentaries on the Avesta are written. In fact the whole



of the old Avesta literature consisting of Yasna, Vispered, and Vendidad was rendered into Pahlavi. This is called mid-Iranian by the linguists.

Thirdly comes what is called the modern Iranian, dating from about the 9th century A. D. It includes Persian proper, Kurdish, Afgan or Pashto, Ossetish, Beluchi or Baloch, Ghalcha and some minor dialects, including the so called Pamir dialects.

The relation of these three stages to one another is the same as the relation of the Vedic or old Sanskrit to the Pāli and Prākritis or Mid-Indian and the present day Indian dialects or the Modern-Indian. What is more remarkable is, that the relationship between the older or Gāthā-Avestan and new -Avestan finds a parallel in the relationship between Vedic and classical Sanskrit.

How closely allied the Avesta is to old Sanskrit, although individually quite distinct from the latter, is clearly seen from a passage like the following:—

*'Təm amavantəm yazatəm | Sūrəm dāmōhu səvistəm  
mīprəm yazai zaoprdbyō.*

which, with certain phonetic changes, gives the following almost Vedic version:

तं अमवन्तं यजतम् । सूरम् धामसु सविष्टम् ।  
मित्रं यजै होत्राभ्यः—

As Jackson<sup>1</sup> properly remarks 'Almost any Sanskrit word may be changed at once into its Avestan equivalent or vice versa, merely by applying certain phonetic laws.' Such very close affinity between two Indo-German languages is found in this branch only.

---

1. Avesta Grammar, Intr. p. xxi.

30. The Phonology:—The Avesta agrees with the Sanskrit in a general way. Agreement of vowels both in quality and quantity is shown by equations like the following:

	Sk.	Av.	Gr.
(अ).	{ अश्वः	<i>aspah</i>	
	{ अश्मन्	<i>asman</i>	<i>ἄκμων</i>
(आ).	मातरः	<i>mātarō</i>	<i>μήτηρ</i>
(इ & ई).	{ चित्तिस्	<i>cistiś</i>	
	{ इहि	<i>idi</i>	
	{ सिञ्चति	<i>hinca'ti</i>	
(उ & ऊ).	{ पुत्रः	<i>puṣrō</i>	<i>putulus</i>
	{ कृणुयात्	<i>kəṛənujāt</i>	
	{ उत	<i>uta</i>	
	{ दारु	<i>dā'ru</i>	<i>δόρυ</i>
	{ सूरः	<i>sūra</i>	
	{ भूमिम्	<i>būmīm.</i>	

Examples of अ and आ, which represent in the Indo-Aryan branch the old *e* and *o*, *ē* and *ō* respectively:—

- (a) अ for *e*. Sk. अश्व and Av. *aspa*; Sk. अस्ति and Av. *asti*; whereas Lat. has *equos*, *esti*; Sk. च, Av. *ca*, Lat. *que*.
- (b) अ for *o*. Sk. ददर्श, Av. *dādarəsa*, Gr. *δέδορκε*; Sk. भरन्ति, अभरन्, Old Pers. *barantiy*, *abaran*, Gr. (Doric) *φέροντι*, *έφερον*; Sk. वृक, Av. *vəhrkas*, Gr. *λύκος*.
- (c) आ for *ē*. Sk. अघात्, Av. *dāt*, Gr. *θήσει*; Sk. आस्ते *āste*, Gr. *ἦσται*; Sk. आसू, Av. *ās*, Gr. (Hom) *ἦα*.
- (d) आ for *ō*. Sk. दात्रम्, Av. *daṣram*, Gr. root *δό* in *διδωμι*; Sk. वार्क, Av. *vāxs*, Lat. *vōx*; Sk. द्रव, Av. *dvā* (*Gāthā*), Gr. *δύω*, Lat. *duō*.

Besides these, there is a vowel, a weakening of *ē*, *ō*, *ā* called Schwa<sup>1</sup> Indogermanicum. It is represented by an inverted *e*, i. e. as *ə*. It has remained separate from original अ only in the Indo-Iranian branch, where it is changed into इ.

1. Brugmann, *Kurze Vergleichende Grammatik* p. 80 & 141.

Indg. *a*: Sk. इ, Av. *i*, Gr. and Lat. *a*: पितृ, Av. *pita*  
Gr. *πατήρ*, Lat. *patēr*; Sk. क्षिप्र, Av. *ksiōit*, Lat. *castus*.

Examples from Sanskrit only; स्थितः, Gr. *στατός*;  
Sk. दुहितृ, Gr. *θυγάτηρ*.

Sometimes however the Avesta shows difference with Sanskrit in quality or quantity.

(A) *Quantity*:—

	Sk.	Av.	Sk.	Av.
(अ & आ)	{ नाना यतरः	<i>nanā</i> <i>yatūrō</i>	अथर्वा मावते	<i>āprava</i> <i>mavoite</i>
(इ & ई)	{ विश्वम् अनीकम्	<i>vīspām</i> <i>a'nikām</i>	वितस्तिम् ईशानम्	<i>vitastim</i> <i>isānām</i>
(उ & ऊ)	{ शुनः सून्वः	<i>sūnō</i> <i>hunavo</i>	... ...	... ...

These appear to be spordic cases, but mostly there are certain laws governing the change of quantity. A few are indicated below:—

- Sanskrit इ & उ are regularly lengthened before final म्. पतिम्-*pa'tim*, पितुम्-*pitūm*, धासिम्-*dāhīm*.
- Sanskrit short monosyllables are regularly long हि'-*zī*, नु'-*nū*, प्र-*frā*.
- In Gāthā-Avesta all finals become long, असुर-*ahurā*, कुत्र-*kuṣrā*, असि-*ahī*.

(B) *Quantity*:—

Sk. अ, Av. <i>a</i> before <i>n, m</i> ;	सन्तम्- <i>hantām</i> , उपमम्- <i>upamām</i>
„ अ, „ <i>i</i> (through <i>a</i> ) before <i>n, m</i> ;	{ यम्- <i>yim</i> , वाचम्- <i>vācim</i> द्रुहम्- <i>drugim</i>
„ अ, „ <i>a</i>	अहम्- <i>azām</i> .
„ अ, „ <i>e</i> , before <i>y</i> , when <i>i, ī</i> , <i>e, ē</i> , follow;	{ रोचयति- <i>raocaye'ti</i> अयानि- <i>ayenī</i> , यज्ञ- <i>yesne</i>
„ अ, „ <i>o</i>	वसु- <i>vohu</i> , मधु- <i>mośu</i>
„ अ, „ <i>ō</i>	धामसु- <i>dāmōhu</i>

There are also other examples<sup>1</sup> of change in quality; we shall speak of only one more.

Sk. ऋ, Av. *ar*<sup>a</sup> or *ar*<sup>a</sup> कृणाति-*ker*<sup>a</sup>*naoti*, मृत्युः-*mār*<sup>a</sup>*pyus*  
 ऋष्टिः-*arštiś*

„ इर, उर, Av. *ar*, *ar* हिरण्यस्य-*záranyehe*, गिरिः-*ga'ris*

The Avesta shows the following diphthongs to correspond to the Sanskrit diphthongs:—

ए, *aē* : एतत्-*aētat*, वेद-*vaēdā*, दूरेदृश-*dūraēdars*  
*ōi* : वेत्थ-*vōistā*, ये-*yōi*, भूरः-*būrōis*

ओ, *ao* : ओजस्-*aojō*, प्रोक्तः-*fraohtō*  
*au* : क्रतोः-*hratəus*, वसोः-*vanəuš*

Since these vowels ए and ओ play a great part in गुण and वृद्धि, their correspondents in Avesta also do the same.

We shall pass over abbreviations and reductions in the Avesta, such as are exemplified *e. g.* in the reduction of य into इ, व् into उ *i. e.* संप्रसारण, or abbreviation as in प्रतियन्तु *pa'tyantu*, and notice certain sound phenomena in the Avesta, which are very remarkable. These are called *epenthesis*, *prothesis*, and *anaptyxis*.

1. *Epenthesis* is a very special characteristic of the Avesta. It consists in the insertion of an anticipatory *i* or *u*, when the following syllables contain *i*, *î*, *e*, *é*, *y*, or *u*, *v*.

Sk. भवति Av. *bava'ti*, एति-*aē'ti*, भरन्ति-*bara'nti*  
 „ अर्वन्तः „ *a"rvanto*, अरुषः-*a"rušo*, तरुणम्-*ta"runam*  
 „ पर (in परच्छेप)-*po"ru*

2. *Prothesis*. This is the same as *epenthesis*, with this difference, that the anticipatory syllable comes initially. It takes place regularly before *r*, followed by *i* or *u*.

Sk. रिणाक्ति-*rinaḥti*, रिष्यति-*risye'ti*, रोपयन्ति-*rūpaye'nti*

1. Jackson, Avesta Grammar p. 13.

3. *Anaptyxis*. This is the name of an irrational vowel that develops between two consonants, especially if one of them be *r*, and regulary after final *r*.

Sk. वक्त्र-*vaḥṭṭra*, नप्त्र-*naḥṭṭrat* (abl.), अन्त्र-*antura*  
 ,, स्वर-*hvara*, यही-*yez<sup>h</sup>wī*, सव्य-*havoya*  
 ,, घर्म-*garāmō*, दद्मसि-*dadamaḥī*, मह्यम्-*ma<sup>h</sup>byā*

(b) The Avestan consonantal system<sup>1</sup> is not as rich as the Sanskrit one. The Avesta has only two palatals *c* and *j*; cerebrals are entirely wanting; there are no aspirates i.e. the *tenues aspirates* and *medial aspirates*; the nasals are only partly the same as in Sanskrit. Of sibilants however the Avesta shows a profusion unknown to Sanskrit.

(1) The Sk. *tenues* are kept almost the same in Av.  
 Sk. उपरि, Av. *upa<sup>h</sup>ri*, कृष-*kərəḥs*, पतन्ति-*patənti*,  
 तद्-*tat*, अति-*atī*, अस्ति-*asti*, तपयति-*tāpayəti*, कर्त-*katārō*,  
 कः-*kas*, चरति-*cara<sup>h</sup>ti*, चाकृन्-*cakana*.

But the same *tenues* are in Avesta changed to *spirants* before consonants:—

Sk. क्रतु-*hratus*, क्षत्रम्-*ḥṣapram*, स्वप्नम्-*ḥvafnəm*, सत्य-*ha<sup>h</sup>pyo*,  
 प्रोक्त-*fraoḥtō*, द्रप्स-*drafšō*.

So that they have fallen together with the *spirants* that are due to *tenues aspirates* in Sanskrit, which we shall now treat.

*Exception*:—No change takes places when a sibilant preceds.

उष्ट्रम्-*uṣṭram*, अस्फुर-*sparat*, स्फूर्-*straorəm*, a bullock, स्खलयाति-*-skarayant*; ष remains unchanged, सप्त-*hapta*, सुप्ति-*hupti*.

1. Jackson. *Avesta Grammar* pp. 27 ff.



- (2) Tenuis aspirates are represented by spirants *f, p, h* in Avesta.

Sk. सखा-*haḥa*, सप्तथस्-*haptapəm*, कफस्-*kafəm*, शफासः-*safaəphō*, खी- *ḥaa*, गाथा-*gaṭṭaa*.

- (3) Sanskrit mediae are also represented by mediae in Avesta. Sk. उपद्-*Av. upabda*, दीर्घ-*dar<sup>2</sup>ga*, सद्-*hadis*, उग्रान्-*ugrəng*, विद्वान्-*vidvā*. These have fallen together with the Avestan medials, which represent Sanskrit medial aspirates.

- (4) Sanskrit medial aspirates are represented by medials; भ्राता-*brāta*, भिस् and भ्यस्-*bya*, उर्भाभ्याम्-*ubōibyā*, मधु-*madu* and धर्षति-*darsis*, अध-*adā*.

- (5) The Avesta *j* represents Sanskrit ज्; जीवन्तम्-*jvantəm*, ज्य-*jyaa*, औजिष्ठ-*aojišto*. But it also represents Sanskrit *h*, हन्तारम्-*jantaram*, अर्हति-*arə-ja'ti*, द्रुहम्-*drujim*.

This double character of the *j* is due to the fact that the original sonant aspirates (see 4) fall together with the medials and that in Sanskrit itself *j* and *h* have got a double nature.

- (6) The semivowels and liquids are generally the same as in Sanskrit. यज्ञम्-*yasnam*, अमुरस्य-*ahurahyā* वस्त्रम्-*vastram*, वात-*vātō*, स्वश्-*hvaspō*.

त्व in combination becomes *pwa* but remains when sibilant precedes; क्त्वा-*ḥrapwo*, त्वाम्-*pwam*; but *varštva* and not *pva*. Sk. श्व appears in Av. as *sp*. विश्वम्-*višpəm*, अश्व-*aspō*, श्वेतम्-*spaētəm*.

- (7) Sanskrit *m* has an Avesta *m*, but Sanskrit *n* is represented in different ways.

Sk. मनः-*manapha*, तनुस्-*tanuś*, जंघा-*zənga*,  
,, नाम-*nāma*, भरन्ति-*barənti*.

(8) Sibilants:—Original *s* remains the same under certain conditions but generally becomes *h* ;

a. स्कम्भम्-*skambam*, स्तोतारम्-*staotāram*, स्पर्धानि-*spāradani* ; but सर्प-*hapta*, सिंधु-*hindu*, सोमम्-*haomam*, सखा-*hahā*, सर्व-*haorva*, सव्य-*havoya*

b. असि-*ahī*, नमसि-*nāmahi*, असुम्-*ahūm*, but वसनम्-*vanhanam*, अवसो-*avanho*

c. पुत्रस्-*puṭro*, ईषवः-*iśavo*

This last treatment of *स्* in a termination finds a parallel in the Prākritis.

For the representation of *s* with other consonants see Jackson, Avesta Grammar p. 45 ff.

अस्य- <i>ahe</i> ,	असुरस्य- <i>ahurahyā</i>
सहस्रम्- <i>hazavrām</i>	दसः- <i>daṣrō</i>
स्मत्- <i>mat</i>	स्मसि- <i>mahi</i>
but कस्मै- <i>kahmai</i>	द्रप्सः- <i>draṣṭō</i>
मस्य- <i>masyō</i>	दास्व- <i>dasva</i>

There are three or four other sibilants, for which see Jackson O. C. p. 49 ff. The *z* in Avesta represents Sk. *j* or *h* as remarked above; e.g. जार्त-*zātō*, यजते-*yaza'te*, and हस्त-*zasta*, अहम्-*azem*.

31. Inflections:—In declension Avesta agrees entirely with Sanskrit. It has eight cases, three numbers and three genders. The uses of the cases are generally the same. The endings are:

Sing.	Plu.
N. <i>s, ś</i>	<i>ō, ā, aṃho</i>
A. <i>m</i>	<i>ō, ā</i>
I. <i>ā</i>	<i>biś</i>
D. <i>ē</i>	<i>byō</i>
Ab. ( <i>a</i> ) <i>t</i>	<i>byō</i>
G. <i>ō, s, hē, hyā</i>	<i>am</i>
L. <i>i</i>	<i>su, śu, hu</i>

We decline one or two words which will show clearly how the Avesta is in perfect agreement with the Sanskrit.

<i>yasnō</i> -यज्ञः	<i>yasnaḥō</i> -यज्ञाः
<i>yasnam</i> -यज्ञम्	<i>yasna</i> -यज्ञान्
<i>yasna</i> -यज्ञा (Vedic Inst.)	<i>yasnāis</i> -यज्ञैः
<i>yasnāi</i> -यज्ञाय	<i>yasnaē byō</i> -यज्ञेभ्यः
<i>yasnahe</i> -यज्ञस्य	<i>yasnanam</i> -यज्ञानाम्
<i>yasne</i> -यज्ञे	<i>yasnaēsu</i> -यज्ञेषु
<i>yasna</i> -यज्ञ	

We give singular paradigms only of an *ā* and *i* base.  
*daēnā*-conscience, religion, *ga'ri*-mountain

<i>daēna</i> -आः	<i>ga'ri's</i> Sk. गिरिः
<i>daenam</i> -आम्	<i>ga'rīm</i>
<i>daēnaya</i> -अया	<i>ga'ri</i> „ गिरी-vedic
<i>daēnayāi</i> -आयै	<i>garāē</i> „ गिरः
<i>daēnayāt</i> -याः	<i>garōit</i>
<i>daēnayaə</i> -याः	<i>garōis</i> „ गिरेः
<i>daēnaya</i> -याम्	<i>gara</i> „ गिरा-ved. for गिरौ
<i>daēne</i> -ए	<i>ga're</i>

Stems in उ are declined on similar lines, *i.e.* of इ stems. Consonantal stems are declined as in Sanskrit. The only difference being in the abl. where *at*, variant of *āt*, as seen in feminine *ā* bases and of *oit* seen in *a*, *i* bases, is invariably used; abl. *visat*, Sk. विशः. The other cases of the word are *vis*, *visəm*, *visa*, *vise*, *viso*, *visi*.

It is not possible to treat in this short space other stems also. We refer the reader to the excellent summary in Jackson.<sup>1</sup> *dāta*, *dātarəm*, *dāpra*, *dāpre*, *dāprat*, *dāprō*, *datara*, *tātari*, are just like the declension of Sanskrit दातृ with

1. Avesta Grammar p. 82 ff.

phonetic changes, excepting the persistent *at*, of the ablative. *a'ryama*, *a'ryamanəm*, *a'ryamna*, *a'ryama'ne* *a'ryamnat*, *a'ryamnō*, *a'ryama'ni*, *a'ryama*, may be compared with the paradigms of Sk. अर्यमन्.

(a) Adjectives agree, as in Sk. entirely with nouns in declension and therefore need not be treated separately. Only the comparison need be shortly noted. As in Sanskrit, there are two ways of forming the two degrees; (1) adding *-tara*, Sk. तर, *-tama*, Sk. तम, and (2) *-yah*-इयस्, *-ista*-ईष्ट.

<i>amavant</i> -strong,		<i>amavastara</i> , <i>amavastama</i>
<i>huyašta</i> -Sk. स्विष्ट		<i>huyastara</i>
<i>maz</i> -	„ मद्	<i>mazyas</i> <i>mazišta</i> -महिष्ट
<i>vohu</i>	„ वहु	<i>vahyah</i> -वह्यः <i>vahišta</i> -वशिष्ट
<i>āsu</i>	„ आशु	<i>āsyah</i> <i>āsišta</i> -आशिष्ट

(b) We have given a specimen of Avesta numerals in the previous part, where we considered what constituted an Indo-Germanic language. A repetition, however, is not without benefit.

There are, as in Sanskrit, both cardinals and ordinals and they have got declensions like nouns. Cardinals *aēva*, *dva*, *pri*, *capwar*, *panca*, *hšvaš*, *hapta*, *ašta*, *nava*, *vīsa'ti*, *prisat*, etc *sata*, *duye sa'ta*, *capwārō sata*, etc, *hazawra*, *baēvar*; ordinals *fratama*, or *pao'rya*, *bitya*, *pritya*, *tui'rya*, *puhđa* *hštva*, *haptapa*, *aštama*, etc.

(c) *Pronouns*:—Most of the Avesta pronouns correspond to Sanskrit pronouns. A few specimens will suffice.

1st. person N. *azəm*, A. *man*, *mā*; D. *māvōya*, *mē*; Ab. *mat*;  
G. *mana*, *mē*; pl. *vaēm*, *ahma*, or *nō*, *ahma'byā*  
etc.

2nd. person N. *tūm*, *tū*; A. *pwam*, *pwā*; I. *pwā*; D. *ta'byā*, *tē*;  
Ab. *pwat*; G. *tava*, *tē*; plu. *yūzəm*, *vō*,  
*yūsmaoyō*, *hšmāvōya*, *yūšmat*, *yūšmākəm*, *vō*.

The third personal pronon *hīm*, *hē*, is defective. Its deficiencies are partly made up by the demonstrative pronoun (*ho, tam, ta, tahe* etc.); this is also in keeping with Sanskrit.

Relative pronoun—*yō*, *yim*, *yā*, *yahmāi*, *yahmāt*, *yehe*, or *yephe*, *yahmi*; pl—*yōi*, *ya*, *yāis*, *yaēbyō*, *yaēšam*, *yaēšū*.

One sees at once, that granting phonetic changes, there is no difference between Avesta and Sanskrit forms of pronouns. We might pass over other pronominal bases and their declension, and turn to the conjugation of verbs.

*a. Conjugation*:—The Avesta agrees with the Vedic Sanskrit in voices, tenses and moods (subjunctive included). In their usage, too, there is no difference. There are also infinitive and participle forms. In person and number there is perfect accord, as was to be expected.

There are primary and secondary endings.

(a) Active, *mi*, *hi*, *ti*, *mahi*, (मसि), *pa*, *nti*  
Middle *e* *vhe, te*, *ma'de*. *ṇwe, nte*.

(b) *m*, *s*, *t*, *ma, ta*, *n*, are secondary.

The Imp. has *di*, *tu*, *ta*, or *na*, *ntu*, Sk. धि, तु, and त, and न्तु and *vuha, tam, dvam, ntam*, Sk. स्व, ताम्, ध्वम्, न्ताम्.

The roots, as in Sanskrit, fall into two groups, thematic and non-thematic according as they insert the stem-vowel *a* or not. There are like Sanskrit ten classes in all. Two *a* classes, a *ya* and an *aye* class, all of thematic roots; a root class, a reduplicative class, a nasal class, and *nu, -u, -and-na* classes of non-thematic roots.

We give paradigms of the indicative of *bar*, Sanskrit भ्र्.

	Sing.	Plu.		Sing.	Plu.
Present	<i>barāmi</i>	<i>barāmi</i>	Perterite	<i>barəm</i>	<i>barāma</i>
	<i>barahi</i>	<i>baraṇa</i>		<i>barō</i>	<i>barata</i>
	<i>barāti</i>	<i>barānti</i>		<i>barat</i>	<i>barəm</i>



The close similarity of this with Sanskrit भ्रमामि, भ्रमन्तु, and अभ्रम्, अभ्रन् will be easily recognised.

The imperative forms are *bara*, *baratu*, *barata*, *barantu*, corresponding to भ्र, भ्रतु, भ्रत, भ्रन्तु, for Active and *barevaha* *baratam*, *baradwam* *barantam* corresponding to भ्रस्व, भ्रताम्, भ्रन्ताम् for Middle.

Omitting other moods, we shall only give the paradigms of the subjunctive.

Sing.		Plu.	
<i>barāni</i>	भ्रानि,	<i>barāma</i>	भ्राम
<i>barāhi</i>	भ्रसि,	<i>barāpa</i> ,	भ्राथ
<i>barāti</i>	भ्रासि	<i>baran</i>	भ्रान्
<i>barāt</i>	भ्रात्		

The optative agrees entirely with Sanskrit optative; *barōis*-भ्रेः, *barōit*-भ्रेत्, etc.

The present participles are *barant* and *barəmna*, Sk. भ्रन्त्, भ्रमाण.

Of the root or non-conjugational class, we shall take the root *ah*, Sk. अस्.

	Sing.	Plu.		
Present	<i>ahmi</i>	<i>mahi</i> (स्मसि-Ved)	Preterite	<i>ās</i> Ved. आस्
	<i>ahi</i>	<i>stā</i>		<i>as</i> ,, आसीत्
	<i>asti</i>	<i>hanti</i>		
Imper.	<i>adu</i>	Sk. एधि	Subj.	<i>ap̄hō</i> , असस्
	<i>astu</i>			<i>ap̄hati</i> , असति
				<i>ap̄hat</i> , असत्
				Optat. <i>hyām</i> , स्याम्
				<i>hyaə</i> , स्याः
				<i>hyāt</i> , स्यात्

Pres. Part—*hant*, Sk. सन्त्.

*Dadāmi*, *kār<sup>n</sup>naomi*, *frināmi*, are examples of the reduplicated, *nu*, *na*, classes.

The perfect is formed with reduplication in most cases, and without it in a few cases, as in Sanskrit. The

rules of reduplication are almost identical.

*didva'sa*-दिद्वेष, *dādar'sa*-ददर्श *va'da*-वेद  
*chakana*-चाकन, *dadāra*-दधार

These typical examples will show the wonderful similarity, almost identity, of the forms in the two languages.

In aorist the Avesta shows as great a variety as the Sankrit. There are the non-sigmatic and the sigmatic groups. But as in the imperfect, the Avesta differs from Sanskrit in not having an augment; *e. g.*

Simple Aor	{ <i>dāt</i> -अधात्	<i>dāmā</i> -अधाम
	{ <i>darəsəm</i> -अदर्शम्	
Redup. Acr.	<i>vaocəm</i> -अवोचम्	<i>zizanāt</i> -अजीजनत्
S. Aor.	{ <i>masta</i> -अमंस्त	<i>dāis</i> from <i>da</i>
	{ <i>prūzdūm</i> -प्राध्वम्	

The last example shows that the Avesta forms sigmatic Aorist from roots, which are conjugated otherwise in Sanskrit in that tense. The Av. agrees with the Sk. even in the *e* of the 3rd sing. of the passive aorist *e. g.* *srāvi*, Sk. अर्थावि.

*The Future*.—The characteristic स्य (ष्य) of the Sk. future is seen in the Av. *hya*. The root assumes the same form before it as in Sanskrit:

*fravaḥśya*-प्रवक्ष्यामि, *har'syente*-स्रक्ष्यन्ते

*būšyant*, *sūšyant* are fut. part. corresponding to Sk. भविष्यन्त, सोष्यन्त.

The Avesta shows the same variety of other verbal forms, *e. g.* passive, causal, denominative, desiderative, frequentative, and participles, gerunds, infinitives as the R̥gveda. A few examples will suffice to show, that here too there is perfect accord between the Avesta and the Sanskrit.

Pass.	<i>kirye'ti</i> -क्रियते,	<i>maryate</i> -म्रियते
Caus.	<i>vaēdaye'nti</i> -वेदयन्ते,	<i>raocaye'ti</i> -रोचयति
Denom.	<i>namahyati</i> -नमस्यति,	<i>pa'pye'ti</i> -पत्यति
Desid.	<i>jījīṣati</i> -जिजीषति,	<i>śiṣati</i> -शिक्षति
Freq.	<i>zaozaoti</i> -जोह्वीति,	<i>daēdōišt</i> -अदेदिष्ट

We have already given pres. part. forms, which are seen to agree with corresponding forms in Sanskrit to an astonishing degree. The past. pass. part. is formed by adding—*ta*, *-ita* or *-na*; *uhta*-उक्त, *raodita*-रुदित, *pərəna*-पूर्ण. The gerund occurs only in stray forms; *pa'tiricya*-प्रतिरिच्य. The infinitive has quite a variety of forms; *dərədyai* = Sk ध्यै, in पिबध्यै, *kərətəe* = Sk.-तयै, ल्यै, in इत्यै; *avaphe* = Sk.-असे, in चक्षसे; *vidvanoi* = विद्मिने.

The above will have made it clear that old Sanskrit and Avesta are sister languages, which separated from each other in at least the second millenium before Christ, and, what is also very likely, from a land<sup>1</sup> lying north of Afgānistan and east of the Caspian sea. Here they must have lived as dialects of one common language, differing as little as possible from each other in all essential points.

**32. Vedic Sanskrit:**—The Vedic language (and thereby we mean the language of the oldest part of the Vedic literature) has preserved to us some of the oldest features of the original Indo-Germanic language. Its consonant-system has preserved almost intact the old Indo-Germanic system, although in vowels it has suffered losses. In inflection and conjugation too, it has preserved several of the old peculiarities that other languages have lost. Of consonants it has preserved the medial aspirates, which both the Greek and

1. The names of the Vedic deities like Indra, Varuna &c. found on the Hittite inscriptions of Mitani, do not perhaps affect this.

the Latin have lost; *e.g.* भ्रातृ, Gr. *φράτωρ*, Lat. *frater*; Sk. दधामि, Gr. *τιθημι*, Lat. *feci*; Sk. घेना, Lat. *felus*; Sk. हन् from घन्, Gr. *θείνω*, etc. We have seen how the Sanskrit had confused the three short vowels *a*, *e*, and *o*. In inflections it has preserved all the eight cases, the duals, although the distinction between some stems, *e.g.* *e* and *o*, is lost. It has preserved all the ten classes of roots, all the moods and tenses, and the various forms of the aorist.

The language of the Veda, *i.e.* the literary language, is based upon a dialect that was the oldest of the Indo-Iranian branch. That underlying the Avesta is comparatively younger. The R̥gveda and the later Sam̥hitās show a slight difference in language. Much more does the language of the oldest Brāhmaṇas, the Tāṇḍya and the Taittirīya show this difference. In fact the R̥gveda-Sam̥hita itself shows an older and a younger form of language. The language of the 10th Maṇḍala, for instance, is in some points different from that of the older parts, *viz.* the so-called family-books. In fact the language of the 10th Maṇḍala represents, so to speak, a transition<sup>1</sup> between the R̥gvedic language and the language of the other Sam̥hitas. We may notice certain points.

1. The hiatus, so frequent in the previous Maṇḍalas, becomes rarer. Such combinations, or rather want of combinations, as या ते शविष्ठ नव्या अकर्म V 29, 15, इयं मनीषा इयमश्विना री : VII 71, 6 tend to disappear.

2. य् and व् in the middle and end of a word often take the place of इय्, उव्, त्वम् for instance appears as तुवम् more often in the older Maṇḍalas. The same is the case with त्व्.

3. The Abhinihita-Sandhi, *i.e.* merging of initial अ into preceding ए or ओ, becomes more frequent. *e.g.* समानो' अश्वा

1. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik XIV.

प्रवतामनुष्यदे II 13, 2 and अवक्षिप दिवो अश्मानम् I 121, 9, अग्निर्जितो अरोचत V 14, 4 tend to disappear.

4. *ळ* representing old Indo-German *र्* (rarely *ल्*) gets a tendency to increase ; *म्बुच्*, *ल्भ्*, *लोभ्*, *लोहित्*, against the old Vedic *म्बुच्* *रभ्*, *रोभ्*, *रोहित्*, become more current. This *ळ* is eight times as frequent in the later *Maṇḍalas* as in the older ones, and seven times as frequent in the *Atharva Veda* as in the *R̥gveda*. All these peculiarities the 10th *Maṇḍala* shows in common with the later *Samhitās*.

5. Again the root *ग्रम्* shows *ह्* in the older *R̥gveda* only after a *क्*, as *हस्त्* *इ* but *हस्त्ग्रामः*. In the tenth *Maṇḍala*, as in Classical Sanskrit, it has uniformly become *ह्* *e.g.* *जग्राह्*, old Vedic *जग्रमः*; *गृह्णन्*, O.V. *ग्रभाय*. The same is the case with the termination of the 2nd sing. imperative, *धि*. As in classical literature, it consistently becomes *हि* in the later *Maṇḍalas* and other *samhitās*. This, as we shall see, is a peculiarity of the *Prākṛts*.

6. Then the root *कृ* in the older *Veda* takes the conjugational sign *नु*, *कृणुमः*, but it becomes *कुर्मः* in the 10th *Maṇḍala*, as in later literature showing an *उ* instead of the older *नु*.

7. In inflection, the older forms *e.g.* *mas. nom. plu.* in *आसस्*, *inst. plu.* in *एभिः* become rarer in preference to forms in *अस्* and *ऐः* as in classical Sanskrit.

8. The most marked change however is found in the Vocabulary. Words like *ईम्*, *अवस्युः*, *विचर्षणि*, *वीति* fall into disuse and new words come into vogue.

The language of the *R̥k. Samhitā* is further essentially different from that of the younger *Samhitās*. Words quite usual in the *R̥gveda*, for instance, like *उर्विया*, *ऋक्न*, *सीम्*, *कन्*, are not found in the latter. Others like *इत्था*, *इष्*, *ईम्*, *उक्थ्य*, *त्व*, *उर्दन्*, *उरूष्यति*, *ऊति*, rarely occur. Vocatives in *वस्* and *वन्* and *nom. plu.* in *आसस्* are almost absent.



It is to be remarked, however, as Wackernagel has pointed out, that the sound system has suffered the least change, because the redaction of texts of different Samhitas was done on similar principles. Yet the tendency to incline to a *l* in preference to *r*, noticed above, kept on the increase.

The prose contained in the Yajurveda and in the oldest Brāhmaṇas<sup>1</sup>, shows the same kind of development. Younger Brāhmaṇas, like the Aitareya and Jaiminiya show forms like आवाम् for old आर्वम्, and thus approach the classical stage to an appreciable degree; in the periphrastic perfect almost unknown to the Samhitas, the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa shows forms like असन्त्रयां अस, where older Brāhmaṇas show चकार only and atm. optative forms in यीत् for the more usual येत् *e. g.* हयीत्, कामयीत्. The narrative perfect becomes more common in these than in the Tāndya and Taittirīya Brāhmaṇas.

This prose has lost the richness in forms that the Rgveda possessed, although the conjunctive is yet preserved and a variety of infinitive forms is shown. In syntax, however, this language presents a truer picture<sup>2</sup> of the old language, than could be done by the metrical Rgveda. It is remarkable that the oldest prose contained in the Yajurveda and the old Brāhmaṇa texts has no idea of a narrative perfect, which becomes prevalent later and which is found in the Rgveda itself. This may be explained perhaps by difference in dialects underlying the two forms of the language. Wackernagel is not ready to accept a difference in dialect as the only possible cause. He sees therein also the possible working of metrical style.

1. Wackernagel, O. C. p. XXX.

2. Wackernagel, O. C. p. XXXI. Compare also Delbrück's Altindische Syntax where this has been made amply clear.

33. It should be remembered, however, that this is yet Vedic or old Sanskrit. Only in the latest Brāhman, in the Upaniṣads and Sūtras etc. do we find a distinct resemblance with the Classical Sanskrit, which was once and for all fixed by Pāṇini's Grammar and which evidently became incapable of further development. The younger language has lost much of the Vedic wealth of forms. It has lost the conjunctive, except for the forms of the first person, which are incorporated into the imperative and limited the optative to present and precative. Of over a dozen infinitive forms तुम्, तवे, तवै, असे, ध्यै, etc. only तुम् is preserved. The absolutive in त्वा is used, but those in त्वी, त्वाय, and त्वीनम्, त्वानम्, are neglected. The terminations मसि, ध्व, ए, which were used side by side with मस्, ध्वम्, and त in the Veda have disappeared. The र् of the third person plural perfect, which was seen in the Veda even in other tenses *e. g.* अवस्रन्, अदृश्रन्, has almost disappeared, except in the forms of शी and those of atm. of 3rd. person plural perfect. Imperative ध्वात्, and धि, which were frequently used in Veda side by side with हि, are also lost with the exception of stray forms like जुहुधि. In declension many of the double forms have totally disappeared *e. g.* आसस् of nom. plu., आ of nom. acc. and voc. duals, अ of the instr. sing. of stems in अ and the आ for औ of loc. sing. of stems in इ. In the same way, what were recognised as irregularities *viz.* vocative in वस् of stems in वन्त् like अद्रिवः, हरिवः, gen. plu. गोनाम् for गवाम्, चक्रुषम् for चक्रुवांसम् are dropped out of use. युवम् and युर्वत् are abandoned in preference to युवाम् etc. The wealth of verbal derivatives<sup>1</sup> like अवस्, दर्शत, मृलीक, बाध्नि is unknown to the classical Sanskrit.

This simplification and these losses are explained by Wackernagel in the following way. The spoken Sanskrit

1. Bhandarkar, Philological Lectures p. 16.

of the Vedic times was simpler and more modern than the Sanskrit of the hymns. Then again the language of the people which had surely lost old endings and forms, reacted upon the classical language, tending to simplify the latter. Old Sanskrit forms that had nothing corresponding in the colloquial language were therefore on their way to oblivion. But that is scarcely a sufficient explanation, for on the one hand the classical language has preserved nominal and verbal forms which the colloquial languages have not kept; and on the other, the latter show old Vedic forms and sometimes categories of forms like देवाओ, देवेहि which presuppose देवासः and देवेभिः which the classical language does not show. All languages that have passed into the literary stage show a tendency to limit the stock of forms, to drop what seems superfluous like double forms, and to regularise paradigms of nouns and verbs. This must have been accelerated by the science of Grammar, which in India arose very early. We know that a language that is bound by Grammar and passes into the literary stage, is less apt to develop than one that is less fettered. Moreover the language of the people was already making rapid progress, leaving Sanskrit only to be a language of books and of the learned.

Here it must be said, that the attempt of certain scholars to brand classical Sanskrit as an artificial language actually created<sup>1</sup> by grammarians, is as ridiculous as it is unlinguistic. Grammarians can simplify and regularise language and perhaps stop its growth; they cannot create language. The attempt of certain enthusiastic idealists in Europe actually to create an international language, called *Esperanto* or *Ido*, and the fate that it met with, ought to

---

1. Bhandarkar, Philological lectures p. 27<sup>1</sup> has amply refuted this theory.

convince any one of the futility of such a hypothesis. Languages can not be *made* in that manner. It is strange to see people like Weber, Hoernle, and Grierson advocating this theory of artificial Sanskrit. What is meant by Wackernagel and others, when they call classical Sanskrit a *Kunst- or Hoch-sprache* is, that it is now already a fossilized literary language and that it has long ceased to be in touch with the popular dialects. Grammarians have only canonized it as Pāli has been canonized by the writers of Southern Buddhism.

The Classical Sanskrit is therefore, as we have seen, the literary development<sup>1</sup> of the oldest Vedic prose. In other words, it is the canonized form of the literary Vedic which is based upon an old Indo-Iranian dialect. It is not a dialect itself, as between that and the spoken language of the people there is a wide gulf. This does not mean however that the oldest form of classical Sanskrit was never spoken. It was itself a भाषा, a spoken, colloquial language, but only of schools and priests and the educated and higher classes. We find Yāska, the author of the Nirukta, making a distinction between the Vedic and his Sanskrit. The former he refers to by words like अन्वध्यायम्, दाशतयीषु, and the latter as भाषा or colloquial speech. What is more important, he makes mention of प्राच्याः or *easterners*, and उदीच्याः or *northerners*, while showing how roots are current among certain people and their *derivatives* only among others ; e. g. दातिर्लव्णार्थे प्राच्येषु दात्रमुदीच्येषु Nir II, 2. He was therefore conscious of provincialisms and these are impossible unless we presume, that at his time Sanskrit was a colloquial language to a certain extent. Coming to Pāṇini, we find the same thing; he also draws attention to

---

1. Bhandarkar, O. C. p. 30.



provincialisms and calls his language भाषा as distinguished from the Vedic language, which he designates as छन्दस्. So does Kātyāyana, so also Patañjali. Again Pāṇini prescribes certain rules which apply only in the case of colloquial speech; *e. g.* the rule of Pāṇini नादिन्याकोशे पुत्रस्य<sup>1</sup> 'the word पुत्र is not to be pronounced with a double त्, when the word आदिनी follows and the term is a reproach', or एकश्रुति<sup>2</sup> दूरात्संबुद्धौ or the ह्रुति rules<sup>3</sup> वाक्यस्य टेः ह्रुत उदात्तः, प्रत्यभिवादेऽशूद्रे, and दूराद्धृते च. Patañjali refers to his language as लौकिक or लोके, as against वेद and वेदे in reference to the Vedic language.

34. We shall now briefly consider the phonology of the Vedic Sanskrit which is called 'das Altindische' by German scholars.

a. **Vowels:**—अ, इ, उ, ऋ, both short and long, and ॠ, are the simple vowels preserved in Sanskrit. We have seen how the simple *e*, *o*, of the western Indo-Germanic languages have been absorbed by the Sk. अ. The typical examples Sk. अजति, Gr. ἄγαι, Sk. अश्व, Lat. *equos*, and Sk. पतिः, Gr. πόσις show how the one अ represents *a*, *e*, and *o* of the other Indo-Germanic languages. There is one thing to be noted in this connection, that before that अ, which represents an Indg. *e* there invariably appears in Sk. a palatal for a guttural of the other languages; *e. g.* अजति, where the अ after the ज represents an old *e* as the Gr. ἄγαι shows; and Sk. च, Lat. *que*, Gr. τε.

This अ however, does not represent an *a*, *e*, *o*, of the other languages which form the low grade of original *ā*, *η* *w*; in that case an इ appears in Sanskrit, *e. g.* पितर, Gr. πατήρ, weak or low grade of पा and suffix तर, τηρ.

1. Panini 8. 4, 48.

2. Panini 1. 2, 33.

3. Panini 8. 2. 82 ff. See Wackernagel, O. C. XLIII.



Sk. अ also represents what is known to philologists as *sonant nasal i. e. m or n, e. g. (a) अस्* of the acc. pl. beside न् (from न्स), where अ represents the nasal shown in the latter form of the termination; (b) अति, अतु, of the third pers. plu. of roots belonging to the third conjugation, beside-अन्ति-अन्तु of the other classes; (c) in the case of stems ending in अन्त्, मन्त्, etc. अ represents the nasal in weak cases *e. g. सन्तौ* but सता, सद्भिः; (d) in the case of stems in अन्, मन्, and वन्, the nasal appears only before vowels; अ appears before consonants *e. g. नाम्ना*, but नाम, नामभिः; (e) in the weak grade of roots ending in अन्, अम्, अ appears invariably; *e. g. तनोति* but तर्त, वितत्य, अतथाः; गम् has गहि, गत्वी, अगस्महि; (f) अक्तु, and नक्ति, अभ्र, and नभस् Gr. ἀφρόσ, and νεφός, are other characteristic examples of the representation of the sonant nasal.

2. इ is the proper representative of the Indg. *i. e. g. अविः* Lat. *ovis*; पतिः, Gr. πόσις. But as remarked above, it also represents the weak grade of the old *ā* (*ē, ō,*) *e. g. स्थिरं*, स्थित to स्था, धित to धा; असिन्व, असिन्वन्, सिन, to सा (सन्, cf. Goth. *sōpa* satisfaction). This Sk. इ corresponds to Gr. *a, e. g. पितरं*, πατήρ from पा to protect, दुहितु, Gr. θυγάτηρ.

3. उ in the same manner represents old *u, e. g. Sk. पुत्रं* Lat. *putulus*; भ्रुतः, Gr. κλυτός; नु, Gr. *vu*. It also forms the weak grade to *o, au*, and of *v*, Sk. युर्ग and योग, स्वप्न and old Sl. *supati*.

उ sometimes appears to stand for ऋ, as in क्रोष्टु, for क्रो, लृष्टुमन्तः for old लृष्टुमन्तः. This is due to contact with the colloquial languages which often represent Sk. ऋ in that way; *e. g. उडुप* from ऋतु. This tendency is observed in the oldest language.

1. See supra Section. 14. d.

2. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik* p. 7-11.

4. ऋ and ॠ as vowels are only preserved in Sanskrit. In other languages they become *ar, ur, or, ra, al*, etc. *e. g.* Sk. मृत, Arm. *mard*, Lat. *mortuos*; Sk. दृष्ट, Gr. *δρακειν*; Sk. मृकः Goth. *wulfs*; Sk. मृदु, Lat. *mollis*.

The long liquids are mostly changed; *e. g.* स्तीर्ण, Gr. *στρωτόσ*; पूर्व, Gr. *πρώτος*; पूर्णः, Goth. *fulls*, Eng. *full*; ऊर्णा, Lat. *lana*, Goth. *wulla*. They are seen unchanged in forms like Sk. नृणाम्.

5. ए and ओ are regarded as monophthongs from the very beginning, even in the Prātisākyas. But in most cases they are diphthongs of अ or आ, and इ or उ, as the second element. Sanskrit grammarians have recognised them as Saṁdhi of अ and इ, अ and उ etc.

They are also seen in gradation with इ and उ, better known in Indian grammar as गुण. *e. g.* सिद्ध, but सेंधति, and सिषेध, corresponding to the gradation in Gr. *λιπέιν, λειπο, λελοιπα* or भुजम् but भोक्ष्यते, and बुभोज.

In certain words ए, ओ before medials, medial aspirates and ह, appear to represent old Indg. *az, aź, e. g.* नेदीयः Av. *nazdyo*, सेद् perf. form of सद्, Av. *hazdyāt*, from Indo-aryan *sazd*. *Sazd* is to *sad* (सद्, as *papt* (Vedic अपप्त) is to पत्; एधि, from अस्, presupposes the middle step *azdhi* (अझधि), which is actually found in the Avesta without the अ; मेध to Gr. *μασθός*, देहि and धेहि to Av. *dazdi*, तृणेढि from तृणह् + धि, through तृणझधि.

ओ also takes the place of अ before ड, or ढ *e. g.* षोडश, but षष्टि, वोढुम्, from वह्, सोढुम् from सह्.

6. These vowels following closely upon each other combine in various ways; and the combinations are called सन्धि. But we have seen that in old Vedic Sanskrit, they had not yet become so rigid as in later literature. See *supra* about अभिनिहित सन्धि.

7. The *quantity* of these vowels is changed under various circumstances. (a) Vowels are lengthened before *र*, as in गीर्भिः, पूर्णु in the Vedic language; this was not an absolute law and hence we get forms like हविर्भिः, उर्वरा, etc. (b) They are often lengthened as compensation of something dropped. When, for instance, a conjunct consonant is simplified, the preceding vowel is lengthened; *e.g.* ताडि from तक्ष्, अषाद् from सह, ईड् from थञ् or इष्, नीड from Indg. *nizda*, Eng. *nest*, पीड from पिष् + द, सीदति from Indg. *sizdeti*, ऊढ from वह्, गूढ from गुह्. (c) There is also lengthening due to sundry other causes; *e.g.* before य of the suffix, क्षीयते from क्षि, सूर्यते from सु or before यू of the denominative, इ, उ when not radical are lengthened जानीयते, वल्गूयति.

8. We have already spoken above of the vowel gradation or *ablaut*, as it is called by Grimm. The same is found in Sanskrit and was recognised by Sanskrit grammarians as गुण, and वृद्ध. Their reading of the phenomenon was, however, a bit different. They looked upon इ, उ, ऋ, ॠ, as the basic vowels, which were strengthened under certain circumstances, *e.g.* when preceded by अ. No doubt in certain cases the इ, उ, ऋ, ॠ, are basic vowels, *e.g.* विवाह to वैवाहिक; उण्वाम to औण्वाम. But in almost all cases, they are what are called weak grades of ए, ओ, अर्, अल्. It will be clear from the forms पतामि, अपत्सम्, and अपाति, where पतामि corresponds to Gr. *πέτομαι*, and shows therefore what is called the *e* or full grade. The second form where अ, which corresponds to Gr. *e*, is dropped, shows what is called the null or weak grade; and the last form shows the strong grade. There are in all six series of *ablaut*, the *e* or Sk. अ series, the *o* or also Sk. अ series, the *a* series, and the three long series of ē, ō, ā.

The following exmples<sup>1</sup> will make it clear.

1. *e* series.

Normal. Weak or Nill. Lengthened or strong.

पद्	उप-द्	पादम्, पात्
	ἐπίβδαι	πῶς
पितरम्	पितृषु	पिता
πατέρα	πατράσι	πατήρ

2. *ē* series.

दधामि	दध्मः, हितः
τίθημι	θετός

3. *a* series

अजामि	(परि)-ज्मन्	आर्जिः
Gr. ἄγω		στρατηγός

4. *ā* series.

तिष्ठामि	स्थितः
ἑστημι (ἵσταμι)	στατός

5. *o* series is very rare even in the Greek language where the distinction between the three vowels *a*, *e* and *o* is kept up.

6. *ō* series.

ददामि	आत्तः, (देव) त्तः
Gr. δίδωμι	δάτος

The reduction or weakening of the normal vowel of a base is due to the weakening<sup>2</sup> or shifting of the accent.

Besides this *quantitative* ablaut, there was also a *qualitative* ablaut, where the normal vowel, say *e*, alternated with an *o*, *e. g.* Gr. φρένεσ, ἄφρονες. But since in Sans-

1. Meringer, Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft p. 89. Uhlenbeck, Sanskrit Phonetics pp. 10-14. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik p. 83 ff.

2. Brugmann, Kurze Vergleichende Grammatik p. 141.

krit the distinction between the original simple vowels *e*, and *o* was lost at a very early date, this ablaut can not be satisfactorily traced there ; although equations<sup>1</sup> like पितरः and त्वत्पितरः, which correspond exactly to Gr. πατέρες and ἀπάτορες, show traces of this alternation in old Sanskrit.

In connection with the Indo-Germanic ablaut, it must be remembered that although as a general rule monosyllabic bases, showing *e*, *o* or nill, are very numerous, still there are what are called dis-syllabic roots or bases. They generally show a long *ē* or *ō*, which alternates with *a*. The series of forms प्रथिमन्, पृथिवी', beside प्रथः and पृथुः, जनिता beside जन्, Gr. γενέτωρ, γένος, necessitate the postulation, beside प्रथ् and जन्, of roots *plethā* and *gena*. In like manner परीमन् when compared to अप्राः and पूर्णः, goes back upon the two-syllabled root *pelā* ; पवित्रम् leads to root *pewā* etc. This latter example is important because it shows, what has been proved by F. de Saussure in his Memoir sur le system primitif dans le languages Indo-Europeennes, that long ऊ is no simple vowel but a combination of *v* and *a* ; just as Sanskrit औ is a combination of अ and उ, which latter again is nothing else than the sonantised consonant *v*. The discovery of this new vowel *a*, which as seen above, renders certian roots dissyllabic, is due to the researches of Brugmann and Saussure, among others. They were led to the discovery by the weak grade of roots ending in आ, η, ω, viz. Sk. स्थितः, Gr. στατός, Lat. *status*, where Sk. इ corresponds to Gr. and Lat. *a*, which was found to be unusual. The इ and *a*, then, forming the weak grade of roots in long vowels, must go back upon an Indo-German sound, other than the existing ones. It was called *schwa* and represented by *a*. Cf. also

---

1. Wackernagel, O. C. p. 75.



हितः from घा ; पितृ from पा. The ablaut itself therefore led to this discovery.

**b. Consonants.**—The Sanskrit language has preserved the original Indogermanic consonants much better than it has done the vowels. It has preserved the original character of the *tenuis*, *mediae* and the *aspirates* much better than Latin and Greek. The Greek, the only language of the western group which has preserved the *aspirates*, has changed the *medial aspirates* into *hard aspirates*; *e. g.* Sk. भू, Gr. *φύω*; वा, *θη*; नमस्, *νέφωσ*. The Latin has changed them into *unvoiced spirants*, *e. g.* घा, Lat. *facio*. These, it should be remembered, are compound<sup>1</sup> consonants, being made up of the *tenuis* or *media* of a class and the *aspirate h*. The *Rkprātisākhya*, the oldest work on Vedic phonetics, already recognises the compound character of these.

1. The Sanskrit language shows five series or classes of consonants, carefully distinguished from the oldest times according to their place of articulation. Thus there is a क् or guttural series, a च् or palatal series, a ट् or dental series, a प् or labial series and lastly a ढ् or lingual series. Besides these there are the *semivowels* य्, व्, र्, ल्, and the three *spirants* श्, ष्, स्. Of these the guttural, the dental and labial series correspond to those of the other Indo-Germanic languages, and are the regular representatives of the original Indo-Germanic classes. Only in the Sanskrit guttural class have merged the two other classes of the old language, namely the pure *velar gutturals* and the *labiovelar gutturals*. Thus Sk. क् represents both a *k* and a *qu* sound of the western Indg. languages.

*e. g.* (a) कविः, Lat. *cruor*; कार्हः, Gr. *κῆρῶξ*, Eng. *herald*; शीखा, Lit. *szaka*, Goth. *hoha*.

भगः, Gr. *φάγειν*, O. Sl. *boge* ; स्थगयति, Lat. *tego*,  
Isl. *þak*, (Eng. *thatch*).

जंघा, Got. *gaggan* (say *gangan*), O. H. G. *gangan*,  
Germ. *gang* ; दीर्घः, Gr. *δολεχός*, Got. *tulgus*.

- (b) कः, Lat. *quo*, Got. *was* ; सचते (च् for क् by palatal law), Lat. *sequor* ; चक्रम्, Ang. S. *hweol*, Eng. *wheel* ; गम्, (Lat. *venio*), Got. *qiman* ; रजः, (ञ् for क्), Got. *rigis*.

2. The Indo-Germanic palatals have nothing to do with the Sk. palatals. These latter, as we shall see, are original velar gutturals palatalized on account of a following *i* or *e*. But the original Indo-German palatals have suffered a change in Sanskrit. They have become spirants, *i. e.* झ, ष, स and affricates च, छ.

*e. g.* (a) द्युतः, Gr. *κλυτός*, Lat. *in-clutus* ; दश, Gr. *δέκα* Got. *taihun*, Eng. *ten* ; अग्निः, Lat. *acus*, O. H. G. *ahil* ; संसति, Lat. *censeo* ; विशम्, Lat. *vicus*, Gr. *οἶκος* ; छाया, Gr. *σκιά*, Got. *skeinan*, Ger. *scheinen*, Eng. *shine*.

(b) जरन्त, Gr. *γέρον* ; जनस्, Gr. *γένος*, Got. *kuni* ; ज्मा, Lit. *zeme*, O. Sl. *zemlja* (*e. g.* *nova zemla*) ; यजतः, Gr. *ἄγιοσ* ; जेषः, Lat. *gustus*, Got. *kiusan* ; अंहस् (ह् for घ्) Lat. *ango*, Got. *aggwus* (say *angwus*), लिह्, Ger. *lecken*.

*N. B.* Sk. ज् therefore is no real palatal, but an affricate that goes back upon an original Indo-German palatal (what in Sk. Grammar would be called a guttural).

3. The Sanskrit palatal class as a whole is a new-comer. It is the old velar or guttural class, labialized or not labialized, before palatal vowels इ, *i* or ए, *e* and the semivowel य *y*. This is the *palatal law*.

- e. g. (a) चरुः, Icl. *hverr*, Gr. *κέρυος*; चत्वारः, Lat. *quatuor*; पर्श्व, Gr. *πέντε*; रोचते, Lat. *lucet*; Cf. शुचिः but शुक्रः, रोचते but रोक, लोक.
- (b) जठर, Got. *kilpei*; जरित, O. H. G. *quirit*, Eng. *quoth*; जानि, Got. *gens*; जामि, Lat. *geminus*; औजस्, Lat. *augeo*, Got. *aukan*; Cf. औजस् but उग्र.
- (c) हन्मि, Av. *janmi*, हन्तारः, *jantar*, Gr. *θείνω*; हरः, Gr. *θέρσος*; कर्कः, कारुः, कालः, कतरः, कक्षः युगम्, गौः, गिरिः, यकृत् and several other words show the guttural, because it is not followed by a palatal vowel, as their counterparts in other languages *viz.* Gr. *καρκίνος*, *κάρυξ*, *κάλλος*, *πότερος* (Ion. *κότερος*); M. H. G. *hahse*, Got. *juk*, (Eng. *yoke*), Gr. *βούς*, Lith. *giria*, Lat. *jecur* show.

4. The dental and labial series properly represent the old series as the following equations will show.

- e.g. (a) तनुः, Lat. *tenuis*, Ger. *dün*, Eng. *thin*; त्रयः, Gr. *τρεῖς*, Lat. *tres*; वर्तते, Lat. *verto*; पत्नी, Gr. *πότνια*; वैथ, Gr. *οἶσθα*.
- (b) दश, Gr. *δέκα*; दू, Gr. *δύω*, *δύο*, Got. *trieu*, Eng. *tree*; द्वा, द्वौ, Gr. *δύω*, Lat. *duo*; सदः, Gr. *ἔδος*, Lat. *sedeo*, Goth. *sitan*, Eng. *sit*; धूमः, Gr. *θύμός*, Lat. *fumus*; मधु, Gr. *μέθυ*; धारुः, Gr. *θήλυς*.
- (c) पतिः, Gr. *πόσις*; पिता, Gr. *πατήρ*, (Goth. *fadar*, Eng. *father*); नपात्, Lat. *nefos*; स्वप्नः, Gr. *ὑπνός*; instances of Sk. *फ़* going back upon Indg. *ph* are not found. Sk. कफ, Av. *kafa*; शफ, Av. *safa*.
- (d) बलम्, Lat. *de-bilis*; बर्बर, Gr. *βάρβαρος*; बिबामि, Lat. *bibo*; जम्बाल (जम् earth), Ags. *pol*, Eng. *pool*; भ्रामि, Gr. *φέρω*; भू, Gr. *φύω*; भ्राता, Lat. *frater*; भ्रू, Gr. *ὄφρυς*, Eng. *brow*; जम्म, Gr. *γόμφος*.

5. Amongst the Sanskrit sounds, the cerebrals are the most important because they are found in no other branch of the Indo-German family-not even in the Avesta. Fortunately, however, the Sanskrit language itself offers a solution of the question as to how they arose only here. We have a rule, for instance, as a consequence of which the dental न् is changed to the cerebral ण्, when preceded in the same word by *r*, *r* or *s*; *e. g.* उष्ण, ऋण, कीर्ण; or that the dental sibilant स् is changed to the lingual sibilant ष् when it is preceded by the vowels इ, ई, and उ, ऊ, ऋ, ए or ओ; *e. g.* करोषि, मातृषु etc. This gave the cue to scholars and many cerebrals were explained as being due to dentals, when originally a *r* or *l* preceded them. This explanation was offered by Pott. विकट, संकट etc. form कृत; काट depth, Vedic कर्त a pit, form कृत; अवट a pit, Vedic अवर् downwards; कट a mat from कृत, चृत; compare Gr. *Kάρταλος*, a basket. आढ्यः from ved. ऋध् to prosper, पठति from Vedic पृथति, प्रथयति to make known, मुण्ड from Ved. मृद्, to rub soft; कटि, compare कृमि.

This same law, differently worded, went by the name of the scholar Fortunatov. It is this; original *l* or *ʎ* + dental resulted in a change of the latter into a cerebral, the *l* or *ʎ* being dropped; and secondly, *r* or *ṛ* + dental remained unchanged. The *l* or *r* of course must be original Indogermanic.

(a) *l* or *ʎ* dental.

पटुः, Gr. <i>πλατύς</i>	वटः, Lith. <i>valtis</i>
स्फट, O. H. G. <i>spaltan</i>	जठरम्, Goth. <i>kilpei</i>
किण, Lat. <i>callus</i>	आणिः, Gr. <i>ὀλένη</i>
पाणिः, Gr. <i>παλάμη</i>	पणः, Lith. <i>pilnas</i>
Lat. <i>palm</i>	पटः, पटलम्, Old Sl. <i>platino</i>
भाषते, Lith. <i>balsas</i>	पाषाणः Gr. <i>πελλα-λίθος</i>
कुठार, Lat. <i>culter</i>	

(b) *r* or *r̥* dental.

कर्तामि, Lit. <i>kertu</i>	वर्तामि, Lat. <i>verto</i> , Got. <i>wairta</i>
अर्धः, „ <i>ardyti</i>	गर्धः, Got. <i>gredus</i>
मर्दामि, Lat. <i>mordeo</i>	पर्दामि, Germ. <i>farzen</i>

But this law was not accepted by linguists like Wackernagel, Brugmann and Bartholomæ; and very obviously. For, the greater part of it is vitiated by exceptions *e. g.* गत्ता, फुत्त, पृथु, Gr. *πλατῖσ*; मृदु, Lat. *mollis*; गर्दभ, Eng. *colt*; where *l* and dental do not show a lingual; and कट which goes back on कृत, भट on भृत, नट on नृत, which show a lingual as a result of *r* and dental.

This change could be traced within the Sanskrit language itself; *e. g.*

(c) उडुप, उडुराज :	Vedic कृतुप	ताडित्, Ved. ताडित् :	तड
कुट्टिम :	„ कृत्रिम	भट्ट, भट्टि	: भर्तु
घटते, निघण्टु :	„ ग्रन्थ, निर्ग्रन्थ	हाटक	: हिरण्य
वाट, वाटी :	Class वृति		
कुट (also कूट?):	कृत		
Nir 5, 24 पिता कुटस्य	चर्षणि:		

The Prākṛit origin of these words is clear. The Sk. *r* is in the Pr. represented either by रि or अ, इ, उ, as the following examples will show:—

रिद्धि, रिण, महारिसि:	कृद्धि, कृण, महर्षि	रि : कृ
इसि, किस, गिद्ध :	कृषि, कृश, गृध्र	इ : कृ
कअ, मअ, वर्इ :	कृत, मृत, वृति	उ : कृ
उदु, } उज्जु, उसह :	कृदु, कृजु, वृषभ	उ : कृ
Mar. ऊत, } उजू, उजवा)		

Then the representation of the dentals following *r* or *r̥* by linguals is very common in the Prākṛits:—



(a) वुड-वृत, कड-कृत, मड-मृत

(b) पुढम-प्रथम, दट्ट-दष्ट, अट्ट-अर्थ, पडिमा-प्रतिमा. We have also कडइ for कथति.

From the first three examples we can see how the dental came to be cerebralized in the Prākritis. It was the preceding sound, which while dropping lent its lingual character to the following dental. This took place also when the *r* and dental were separated by a vowel as in प्रथम, Pāli पढम; प्रति, inscrip. पटि. This tendency once created, became generalized and dentals were changed to linguals even where no *r* or *l* preceded. *e. g.*

पडति-पतति, पडाआ-पताका, वेडिस-वेतस कडइ in *b* above ;  
ढक्केहि, Pāli थक्केति, Sk. स्थगयति ;

डहइ, Mar. डाह, Sk. दहति ; Mar. दापण from धा.

Oldest phase of the Pāli & Prakrits side by side with the Vedic language:— From the above it will be seen, that the linguals in Vedic and later Sk. are due to the influence of the old Prākritis, which therefore must have existed side by side with the Vedic dialects. These gave us the later literary Prākritis.<sup>1</sup> Side by side with the language of the Vedas and the priests there was current even during the period of the production of the hymns, a language which was much more developed than the priestly language and which had the chief characteristics of the oldest phase of the mid-Indian dialects, called the Pāli-stage. Bhandarkar<sup>2</sup> also agrees with Wackernagel in calling Pāli the oldest Prākrit.

Words which in Vedic and later Sanskrit show a ण, instead of a न, belong also to this class ; they are called Prākritisms.

1. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik p. XVIII.

2. Philological lectures p. 5.

(d) आणि पुण्य, फण्, (अन्वापनीफणत्<sup>1</sup>.) काण, कर्ण, निपुण, घोणा, वणिज् (Ger. *waare*), गण् (Gr. *αγειρω*), कुणार, (Gr. *κύλλοσ*), स्थाणु (Ger. *still*), पण् (Gr. *περνημι*), कण (class. कल a part).

अण (Gr. *αλεω*), एण (Gr. *ελαφοσ*), तूण, वेणु (Lat. *wallus*), वेणी (Lat. *willus*).

In शिथिल, the इ shows that it is a Prākritism. The root has a *r*, which vocallised as *r* gives the इ in Prākrit, Compare शिदिल of Prākrit; also शिङ्, (Mar. सुंगणें, हुंगणें) from शङ्क, समिद्ध from समृद्ध, इंगाल (Naiṣadha I. 9) Mar. इंगळ, from अंगार, are Prākritisms. कृच्छ and गुच्छ are also Prākritisms, where च्छ represents Sk. प्स, cf. Pāli अच्छरा for Sk. अप्सरा. तितउ for तितसु, प्रउग for प्रयुग, cf. गउओ of Māhārāṣṭri from गवय, are also regarded as Prākritisms. In later Prākrits they are the rule; in the Veda their appearance is inexplicable, unless we presume, as is done, that they have crept into the Vedic language from an old Prākrit that was the basis of the mid-Indian Prākrits.

35. Inflection:—Much need not be said regarding morphology of the old Sanskrit. It does not much differ from that of classical Sanskrit, which is familiar to us. However, we devote some short space to it for pointing out features common to other languages.

a. Unlike the classical languages of the west, Sanskrit has only three or four vowel stems, those in अ, इ, उ, and ऋ, short and long. It has not got the *e* and *o* stems, like Greek and Latin, since Sanskrit has kept no distinction between *a*, *e*, and *o*. Of consonantal stems the old language shows many, like those in च्, क्, त्, प्, radical इ, ध्, and भ्, स्, श्, and ण्, and the derivative stems in वत्, तात्, (उद्वत्, निवत्, सर्वतात्, देवतात्), Gr. *τήτ*, इत्, उत्, त् (यकृत्), अत्, and अन्त्, मन्त्, and न्त्, अन्, मन्, इन्, मिन्, and विन्, अर्, and तर् etc.

The Sanskrit, like Greek, and Latin, has three genders, three numbers (there are traces left of the dual in Greek and Latin in words like *δύο*, *duo* although the *dual* as such is given up by these languages) and unlike these all the eight cases. The Greek has given up instrumental and ablative entirely, and confused locative and dative. For reasons see *supra*.

The terminations are the same for the three genders, excepting the nom. acc. voc. of the neuter, which in singular has no termination and in plural has इ. They are:—

For singular

Nom. *nill* or स्

Acc. *m* or ण

Instr. (*bhi*), ण (*this gives आ*)

Dat. *ai*, ए

Abl. अस्, अत् (*for अ stems*)

Gem. अस्, स्, स्य ,, ,,

Loc. इ, *no ending with lengthening of last syllable*

For plural

अस्

न्स्, अस् (*from न्स् after consonant*)

ऐस्, and भिस्

भ्यस्

„

आम्, नाम् (*after vowels*)

सु

These terminations are an inheritance from the old Indo-Germanic idiom and are therefore found with proper phonetic changes in Greek and Latin and partly in Gothic also. A few paradigms are given by way of comparison.

## I. Singulars of अ-o stem.

	Sk.	Gr.	Lat.	Got.
Nom.	वृकः	• λύκος	<i>lupus</i>	<i>wulfs</i>
Voc.	वृक	λύκε	<i>lupe</i>	<i>wulf</i>
Acc.	वृकम्	λύκον	<i>lupum</i>	<i>wulf</i>
Instr.	{ वृका, वृकेण	πονῶ (adv.)	<i>sacrō</i> -( <i>sanctus</i> )	<i>wulfa</i>
Dat.	{ वृकाय पत्ये	λακῶ	<i>lupō</i>	<i>wulfa</i> <i>wolfe</i> (O.H.G.)
Abl.	{ वृकाद् राज्ञः	Φοίκω (adv.) (λύκοιο)	<i>lupō</i> (d)	<i>haprō</i> (A.V.) ( <i>wulfis</i> )
Gen.	{ वृकस्य राज्ञः	λύκοιο λυκου	<i>lupī</i>	<i>wulfis</i>
Loc.	वृके	οἴκοι (adv.)	<i>bellī</i> (adv.)	<i>wulfa</i>

## II. Plurals of अ-o stem.

	Sk.	Gr.	Lat.	Got.
Nom.	{ वृकाः वृकासः (ved.)	λύκοι	<i>lupī</i>	<i>wulfōs</i>
Acc.	वृकान्	{ λύκονσ λύκουσ	<i>lupōs</i>	<i>wulfans</i>
Instr.	{ वृकैः वृकेभिः	λύκοισ (i)	<i>lupīs</i>	<i>wulfam</i>
Dat.	{ वृकेभ्यः	[λύκοισ (i)]	(lupīs)	(wulfam)
Abl.				
Gen.	{ चरथाम् वृकाणाम्	λύκων	<i>deum</i> <i>deorum</i>	<i>wulfē</i>
Loc.	वृकेषु	λυκοισι	<i>lupīs</i>	<i>wulfam</i>

## III. Singulars of उ stem.

	Sk.	Gr.
Nom.	सूनुः	πῆχυσ
Acc.	सूनुम्	πῆχυν
Instr.	कृत्वा	(πῆχει)
Dat.	सूनुवे, शिष्वे	(πῆχει)
Abl.	सूनोः, पथः	πῆχεος
Gen.	सूनोः, पथः	πῆχεος
Loc.	सूनौ, सूनुवि	πῆχει

## IV. Plurals of उ stem.

	Sk.	Lat.
सूनुवः		<i>manūs</i>
सूनुत, पथः		<i>manūs</i>
सूनुभिः		<i>(manubus)-ibus</i>
सूनुभ्यः		<i>manubus-ibus</i>
सूननाम्, पथाम्		<i>manuum, manum</i>
सूनुषु		<i>(manubus)</i>

## V. Singulars of तृ-τερ stem.

	Sk.	Gr.
Nom.	मार्ता	Μῆτηρ
Acc.	मार्तरम्	Μητέρα
Instr.	मात्रा	(Μητέρι)
Dat.	मात्रे	(Μητέρι)
Abl.	मार्तुः	Μητρος
Gen.	मार्तुः	Μητρος -τέρος
Loc.	मार्तरि	Μητέρι

## VI. Plurals of तृ-τερ stem.

	Sk.	Gr.
मार्तरः		Μητέρες
मार्तः		Μητέρας
मार्तृभिः		(Μητράσι)
मार्तृभ्यः }		(Μητράσι)
मार्तृभ्यः }		
मार्तृणाम्		Μητέρων
मार्तृषु		Μητράσι

## VII. Singulars of न्त-न्त stem.

	Sk.	Gr.
Nom.	सन्	ὄν
Acc.	सन्तम्	ὄντα
Instr.	सन्ता	(ὄντι)
Dat.	सन्ते	(ὄντι)
Abl.	सन्तः	ὄντοσ
Gen.	सन्तः	ὄντοσ
Loc.	सन्ति	ὄντι

## VIII. Plurals of न्त-न्त stem.

	Sk.	Gr.
सन्तः		ὄντες
सन्तः		ὄντας
सन्ति		(ὄνσι)
सन्तः		(ὄνσι)
सन्तः		
सन्ताम्		ὄντων
सन्तु		ὄνσι



*b. Conjugation:*—The Sanskrit conjugation also is as rich as the declension, and here too it has preserved most of the Indo-Germanic form material. Of the other languages only the Greek language nearly approaches it in the antiquity as well as wealth of verbal forms. Like the Greek, Sanskrit has the *active* and *medial* or middle voices; the *passive* voice of the Sanskrit was probably a later creation and did not exist in the original Indo-German idiom. Then there is a number of *modes* or *moods* in the old Vedic language as in Greek; later Sanskrit has lost some of them. The modes are the indicative, the optative, the imperative and the conjunctive or subjunctive. This last is seen only in the oldest Sanskrit. The optative and imperative too are in classical Sanskrit never used except in the present tense. There are four tenses, the present, the perfect, the aorist and the future; the imperfect, so far as the stem and formation goes, is reckoned with the present for morphological purposes. There are special uses of these tenses elaborately put forth and explained by Sanskrit Grammarians.

The augment अ-*e* plays an important part in the tense system of the Sanskrit and the Greek languages; the other languages, excepting the Armenian, do not show anything like it. It usually bore the accent and caused Guna or Vrddhi. It is used to make the stem of the imperfect and aorist only and indicated past action<sup>1</sup>. The perfect stem is made up by reduplication, not by augment. It is to be noted that one of the numerous aorists has augment and reduplication of stem together.

All roots are in Sanskrit, as well as in Greek, divided into two great classes, according as they do or do not take before personal endings the vowel अ, *e* or *o* in Greek;

1. Brugmann, Kurze Grammatik p. 484.

they are called the *thematic* and the *non-thematic* classes; they are also otherwise known as conjugational and non-conjugational. The former again fall into four subdivisions, the two अ, the य् and अय् classes; the latter into some six, the root, the reduplicated, the उ, the नु, the ना, and न् classes. This distinction, with a variety of terminations, makes the study of Sanskrit so formidable to beginners.

The endings again are different for the active and the medial. Besides this distinction, there is another distinction into primary and secondary endings; the former are fuller, the latter seem to be abbreviations of these. Then there are distinct endings for the perfect and imperative. In this complexity, the Greek language almost equals Sanskrit.

The following comparative tables will show the great similarity in this respect between the Sanskrit and Greek languages.

### I. Personal endings.

#### Active

#### Middle

##### Primary

##### Secondary

##### Primary

##### Secondary

मि	μi, ω	अम्	ν(from μ)	ए	μαι	इ, अ	μην
सि	σι, σ	स्	s	से	σαι	थाः	σo
ति	τι	त्	τ	ते	ται	त	το
मस	μεν	म्	μεν	महे	μεθα	महि	μεθα
थ	τε	त्	τε	ध्वे	σθε	ध्वम्	σθα.
अन्ति, } अति }	ντι	रन्, } उस् }	ν (τ)	अन्ते, } अते }	νται	अन्त, } अत, } रन् }	ντο

#### Perfect

#### Perfect

##### Active.

##### Middle.

##### Active.

##### Middle.

अ	α	ए	...	महे	μεν	महे	...
थ	θα	स	...	अ	...	ध्वे	...
अ	ε	ए	...	उस्	ατι	रे	...

## II. Conjugation of verbs in—अ; Gr. ε, ο.

## Present Active

## Middle

भरामि	φέρω	भरामः	φέρομεσ	भरे	φέρεμαι
भरसि	φέρεις	भरथ	φέρετε	भरसे	φέρεσαι (old)
भरति	φέρει (τ)	भरन्ति	φέροντι	भरते	φέρεται

## Imperfect Active

## Middle

अभरम्	ἔφερον	अभराम	ἐφέρεμεν	अभरे	ἐφερόμην
अभरः	ἔφερες	अभरत	ἐφέρετε	अभरथाः	ἐφέρεσθो
अभरत्	ἔφερε (τ)	अभरन् (त्)	ἔφερον (τ)	अभरत	ἐφέरेτο

## III. Conjugation of verbs without thematic vowel.

## Present Active

## Middle

दधामि	τίθημι	दध्मः	(τίθεμεν)	दधे	τίθεμαι	दध्महे	(τίθεμεθα)
दधासि	τίθης	धत्त	(τίθετε)	धत्से	τίθεσαι	धद्धे	(τίθεσθε)
दधीति	τίθησι (ति)	दधति	τίθεντι	धत्ते	τιθεται	दधते	τίθενται

## Imperfect Active

## Middle

अदधाम्	ἐτίθην	अदधम्	ἐτίθέμεν	अदधि	ἐτιθέμην	अदधमहि	ἐτίθεμεθα
अदधाः	(ἐτίθεις)	अदधत्	ἐτίθετε	अदधथाः	ἐτίθεσθो	अधध्वम्	ἐτίθεσθα
अदधात्	(ἐτιथे)	अदधुर्	ἐτίθεν	अदधत्	ἐτίθετο	अदधत	ἐτίθεντο

## IV. Conjugation of root verbs.

## Present.

## Imperfect.

आस्मि	εἰμι	स्मः	ἑσμέν	आसम्	ἦα	आस्म	ἦμεν
	(εσμι)						
आसि	εἶ (fr.	स्थ	ἑστέ	आसीः	ἦσθα	आस्त	ἦσते
	ἑσι)						
आस्ति	ἑस्ति	सन्ति	ἑसि	आसीत्	ἦσ (τ)	आसन्	ἦν
			(ἐντί)				

V. *The Aorists*:—In Sanskrit, as in Greek, there are several formations of this name; the root aorist, the

s aorist and the passive aorist. Then in Sanskrit there is the reduplicated aorist. As the formation of these is so divergent, the common name must be due to the peculiar kind of the action denoted. The agreement between the Sanskrit and the Greek is remarkable e. g.

*Root-aorists*:—अस्थात्, ἔστην; πλήτο; the root स्था forms root-aorist ἔγνω and not s aorist as in Sk. अघात्, अदात्, Gr. ἔθηκε, ἔδωκε, (the *k* which is unknown to the Sanskrit, remains unexplained).<sup>1</sup>

*s-aorists*:—अप्राः (from अप्रास् + स्), अप्राः (form अप्रास् + त्), अप्रास्म, अप्रास्त, (अप्रासुः); Gr. ἔδειξα, ἔδειξας, ἔδειξε, ἐδείξαμεν, ἐδείξατε, ἐδείξαν.

*Middle*:—अरुत्सि, अरुत्थाः, अरुत्त, अरुत्समहि, अरुद्म, अरुत्सत, Gr. ἐδείξαμην, ἐδείξα (σο), ἐδείξατο, ἐδείξαμεθα, ἐδείξασθε, ἐδείξαντο.

The question as to the origin of the aorist suffix, has occupied philologists since Bopp's time. Bopp saw in it the past<sup>2</sup> tense of the Indg. verbum substantivum *esmi*. Phonetically there is nothing against it. It also finds support from other languages e. g. Latin and Goth., where the suffix of the past tense is nothing else than the past forms of roots *am* and *do* (Sk. धा) respectively. Lat. *ama-bam*, *amabat*; Goth. *hunger-dide*, O. H. G. *hungerede*, Eng. *hungered*. The *s* would have to be looked upon as remnant of the imperfect, and that is the only flaw in Bopp's theory.

## VI. Perfect active.

Singular.		Plural.		Gothic	
वेद	Foîda	विद्य	Fîdμεν	wait	witum
वेथ	Foîσθα	विद	Fîστε	waist	wit-up
वेद	Foîδε	विदुर्	(Fîσασι)	wait	wit-un

1. Hirt, Handbuch der Gr. Laut-und Formenlehre p. 549.

2. Hirt, O. C. p. 550.

## Middle.

1st. तुतुदे' Lat. *tutudī*

3rd. तुतुदे' ...

It will be seen that the perfect has only one type, as against the manifold types shown by the present-aorist. The perfect is formed immediately from the root, without any augment or sign or infix. Every root can have its perfect, with but very few exceptions. The perfect is altogether non-thematic. The peculiarities are that the first syllable takes reduplication, and the root shows the *o* grade, where the reduplicated syllable shows an *e*, अ. This is clearly shown by forms like चकार, जघान, which show palatalization in the first syllable; Cf. also γέγονα, δέδορκα.

VII. *The future system*:—In Sanskrit as in Greek the future is made up by the addition of the suffix *s*. In Greek it has been dropped in certain cases, thus giving rise to a second type of future.

देक्ष्यामि Gr. δειξέω, from दिक्ष्, *deik*; रेक्ष्यामि, Gr. λειξέω. The Lithuanian language also shows this *s* future; *e. g.* *gėlsu* from *gelu.* to do harm; *dursu*, from *duru.* The Latin again takes the aid of an auxiliary, as in the aorist and has forms like *ama-bo*, *amabis*, *amabit*. Gothic has lost the old future, just as it has lost the old aorist. Most of the modern European languages have given up the old future and have substituted an auxiliary meaning to wish. The Spanish<sup>1</sup> has *volo*, the Germ. *wollen*, Engl. *will*

VIII. The distinction between temporal stems and modal stems is not difficult to understand. We have seen sufficiently clearly how different temporal stems were made

---

<sup>1</sup> Zauner, *Romanische Sprachwissenschaft* I p. 165.



up. Of the four modes or moods the indicative is marked by absence of any further addition to the temporal stem; भर्, φερο, or φερε, बभर्, γεγον, stems of present, aorist perfect, are also the stems of the indicative. And it is only natural because it is the simplest mode of all, only asserting or denying something. The imperative too has not got any special stem; very often, as in Sanskrit, it borrows stems and forms of other moods.

The conjunctive and optative have special stems; the former is characterized by the addition of a thematic अ, *e*, (*o*) to the temporal stem, the latter by the addition of a secondary suffix या, *yê*, ई, *i*, added on to the base without thematic vowel.

In the case of the nonthematic type of roots, the conjunctive is easily formed by adding अ, *e*, *o* to the root *e. g.*

Pres. ind. अस्ति, Lat. *es-t*; conj. अस्ति, Av. *axhaiti*, Lat. *er-i-t*.

Aor. conj. नेषति, नेषत् (with root vowel ने as in *middle*, not नै as in *active*); Gr. τέισ-ο-μεν, τέισ-ε-τε (where नेष् तेισ are bases of the sigmatic aorist).

Pref. conj. तर्तनति, तर्तनत्, Gr. πεποίθ-ο-μεν.

In the case of the thematic type of roots, the modal sign अ, *e*, *o* appears to combine with the last vowel of the stem *e. g.*

Conj. भेरान्, भेराति, Gr. φέρω-μεν, φέρη-τε, Lat. *ferēs*, for indicative भेरति, φορομεν etc.

The optative sign for non-thematic roots is या, *y*, *yê*, *yâ*, added on to the weak grade of the root; that for the non-thematic roots is ई, which combines with the thematic

vowel making a diphthong with it. Secondary personal endings are then added on to the base formed in this way.

स्यात्, स्युः, also सियात्, सियुः, Lat. *s-iē-s*, *s-i-mus*

दद्यात्, दद्युः, Gr. *διδो-ιη-ν*, *διδो-ι-μεν*.

भरेत्, Gr. *φέποι*, Goth. *bairai*; दृशेत्, Gr. *δράκοι*.

IX. There is what is called secondary conjugation. This comprises desiderative, intensive or frequentative, causative, denominative, which may be found in any descriptive Grammar. Cf. Macdonell, Vedic Grammar p. 387 ff.

Of verbal derivatives, both Sanskrit and Greek show a variety. We have already seen how the Vedic Sanskrit possessed more than half a dozen infinitive forms, three or four absolute forms, three forms for the present participle, not to speak of any amount of verbal nouns. For these, refer to Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar p. 341 ff.

---

## PART IV.

### PĀLI AND THE INSCRIPTIONAL PRAKRITS.

36. Character of the Pāli.—The next stage in the development of the Indian branch of the Indo-German languages is the Pāli. This is a name given to the sacred language of the canon of Southern Buddhism. The name itself is a puzzle to many. European scholars, derive it from *prali* a row or line of leaves of a book, then the book itself; and lastly the canon embodied in the book and its language. Another but a hardly likely derivation<sup>1</sup> is form प्रकट, पाञ्च, पाञ्चल, पाल, according to which Pāli means language of the common people. Kosambi<sup>2</sup> a Buddhist scholar, thinks, that the name is derived from the root पाल् to protect, to preserve, and originally means the books or literature in which the Buddhist canon is preserved. The derivation apart, he rightly points out that Buddhaghosha, the author of a commentary on अट्ठका, repeatedly refers to the Tipiṭaka or its teachings by the name Pāli.

That this Pāli *i. e.* the dialect at the root of the literary Pāli, called by European scholars the Pāli-stufe<sup>3</sup> and the dialects of the oldest available inscriptions, could not be directly traced even to Vedic Sanskrit is clear from phonological reasons adduced above<sup>4</sup>. There are besides several formantic elements that could hardly be traced to the Vedic dialect. As examples might be quoted the absolu-

1. Rajwade, Introduction to his edition of the Dnyaneshwari.

2. पालिभाषेचा कालनिर्णय, Vividh. Vistar XLI, p. 139. Cf. also Childers Pāli Dictionary, Introduction.

3. Jacobi. Erzählungen. p. XI.

4. See above, p. 147-48.

tive suffixes तु of the Dhauli<sup>1</sup> version of Aśoka's edict number I and तूण, दूण, and ऊण of the Māhārāṣṭri Prākṛit. We cannot trace them back to Sk. त्वा, त्वानम्, but must regard them as collateral forms of another closely related dialect. In the same way the narrative perfect above referred to is seen to a certain extent in the Vedic, and regularly in the later Brahmanic language, but not in the Pāli and the Prākṛits. Except अयाय, बभूव, and one or two other stray forms, which are to be regarded as Sanskritisms, the Pāli has not got the perfect.<sup>2</sup> We shall have therefore to understand the relationship between the Vedic Sanskrit and the Pāli and Prākṛits in some such manner. They are the direct descendants of a dialect, which was spoken in ancient India, side by side with the Vedic dialect, with which it was very closely related.

But the differences between the old Sanskrit and the Pāli and Prākṛits are not so great as to warrant the conclusion that they do not represent successive steps in the development of the Vedic language. Some peculiarities pointed out above may perhaps be more provincialisms than dialectic. The languages of the inscriptions themselves do not lend any support to the theory that there existed in those hoary days a dialect which differed *very considerably* from the Vedic dialect<sup>3</sup>.

*a. Causes of phonetic change shown by Pāli etc:—*If then the Pāli and the inscriptional dialects are descended from Vedic Sanskrit, or at least from a dialect that was very close to it, how do we account for such a change in the phonology as is shown in the assimilation of conjuncts,

1. Bühler, Aśoka Inschriften, p. 89.

2. Dr. Bhandarkar O. C. 59, was evidently misled by Kaccāyano, who, slavishly following the Kātantra, gives perfect endings for Pāli.

3. Meillet, Einführung p. 26; Franke, Pāli und Sanskrit p. 150.

simplifying a conjunct after a long vowel or shortening an original long one before a conjunct, the total disappearance of the vowels *r*, and *l*?

The Indian Aryans entered India through the north-western frontier and found a new fertile land. Thus geographical and climatic conditions must have worked together with other causes of phonetic growth or decay. Apparently however, it is strange that the same people should find it difficult, when they were in different environments, to pronounce the original conjuncts and sounds like *r* and *l*.

But the whole thing is clear, when we imagine to ourselves all that must have happened when the Indian Aryans penetrated into India. They did not find before them a desolate, isolated world or a world inhabited by a handful of negroes. Very probably they conquered land inch by inch from the Dravidians, and such other people who were in possession of the land before them. They inflicted not only their rule but also their superior language upon these natives, to whom it was a strange and difficult idiom. They learnt the new language just as children learn their mother tongue; whatever is rough they soften, whatever is difficult they make easy. The process of this acquisition is strictly psychological, as explained in the first part of this book. Thus all the phenomena called metathesis, assimilation, dissimilation etc., are seen to play a considerable role in phonology and what we know as analogy formation in morphology. The Aryan dialects were thus corrupted in the mouth of the original inhabitants and these corruptions reacted upon the speech of the Aryan settlers. This is the most plausible explanation<sup>1</sup> of the growth of the Pāli and Prākṛits.

---

1. Bhandarkar, *Philological Lectures* p. 46, 47.



The part of the Vedic or of its sister dialect that was most affected in the manner described above was phonology. The following passage taken at random from the Gajakumbha-jātaka<sup>1</sup>, is an illustration.

अतीते वाराणसियम् ब्रह्मदत्ते रज्जम् कारेन्ते बोधिसत्तो तस्स अमच्चरतनं अहोसि.  
वाराणसीराजा आलसियजातिको अहोसि. बोधिसत्तो राजानं बोधेस्सामीति एकम्  
उपायम् उपधारेन्तो चरति. अथ एकदिवसं राजा उय्यानं गन्त्वा अमच्चपरिवुतो तत्थ  
विचरन्तो एकं गजकुम्भम् आलसियम् पस्सि. तथारूपा किर आलसिया सकलदिवसं  
गच्छन्तापि एकाङ्गुलद्वंगुलमेत्तं एव गच्छन्ति. राजा तं दिश्वा वयस्स को नाम् एसो ति  
पुच्छि. बोधिसत्तो गजकुम्भो नाम् एस महाराज आलसियो, एवरूपो हि सकलदिवसं  
गच्छन्तो पि एकाङ्गुलद्वंगुलमत्तम् एव गच्छतीति वत्त्वा तेन सद्धिं सल्लपन्तो, अम्मो  
गजकुम्भ तुम्हाकम् दण्डगमनम्, इमास्सि अरण्णे दावग्गिम्हि उद्धिते किं करोथा ति वत्त्वा  
पठमम् गाथम् आह.

Even a cursory examination of this passage shows (a) the phonetic peculiarities of the Pāli, and (b) the remarkable resemblance between Pāli and Sanskrit inflection and also syntax:—

(a) वाराणसियम् shows the change of व into ब, the स्थान of which is the same ; then there is anaptyxis of स्याम्, with shortening of the final vowel.

रज्जम् shows assimilation of य् to ज्, and the shortening of the long vowel before the conjunct. The same assimilation is seen in सत्तो, तस्स, अमच्च, स्सामि. उय्यानं shows regressive assimilation.

अमच्च shows shortening of long आ before conjunct, complete palatalization of य, and assimilation of the preceding त् to it. मत्तम् also is due to shortening before conjunct and assimilation.

आलसिय shows a change in the consonant, apparently due to no cause. The क् is first vocalized i, e. becomes अ,

1. Fausböll, Jātaka III 140.

and the semivowel serves as a bridge between the preceding इ and the new अ. This is what is called यवृत्ति in the later Prākṛits. It should be noted, that with the exception of such stray cases, the Pāli has preserved the old Sanskrit consonants in tact, whereas later in the literary Prākṛits many of the consonants, especially if they are between two vowels, are replaced by अ. This, coupled with the preservation of most of the Sanskrit inflections, places it beyond doubt that Pāli is older<sup>1</sup> than the Prākṛits.

एसो shows the change of the Sanskrit ष into स्, and of the स् of the termination into an invariable ओ, *e. g.* परिवृतो, गच्छन्तो, आलसियजातिको etc.

द्वंगुल has dropped the inconvenient य्.

पठम् shows that the lingual र्, which has dropped, has lent its character to the following consonant, a phenomenon that is common in the Prākṛits and seen also to have effect on Sanskrit.

इमस्सि and दावग्गिम्हि show a double representation of the same Sanskrit स्मिन्; in the former there is assimilation to the preceding स्. in the latter there is metathesis first and change of स् to ह afterwards.

(b) The inflectional resemblances between Pāli and Sanskrit are obvious :—

बोधिसत्तो, राजा, राजानं, महाराज, गजकुम्भ are just the same as in Sanskrit. रतनं, रज्जम्, बोधिसत्तं, दिवसं, उद्यानं apart from the phonetic change, are identical with Sk. inflection of these words.

तं, तस्स, वयस्स, अतीते, इमस्सि, उद्धिते are in perfect agreement with their Sanskrit originals.

चरति, गच्छन्ति, आह, बोधेस्सामि are the same as in Sanskrit, and अहोसि, पस्सि, पुच्छि although differing a bit in formation,

1. Jacobi, Ayāraṅga Sutta part I p. VIII.

are aorist or past forms corresponding to Sanskrit aorists or imperfects, sometimes with but often without the augment. The Sanskrit augment of the preterite, like the perfect, is thus on its way to disappear in Pāli and has totally disappeared in the Prākṛits and the modern vernaculars. This also clearly shows the relationship, in time, of the two to each other.

कारेन्तो, उपधारेन्तो, गच्छन्ता, गन्त्वा, दत्त्वा, उद्धित are verbal derivatives, whose close similarity with like Sanskrit forms is almost too transparent.

37. Phonology of the Pāli:—The Pāli possesses all the vowels of Sanskrit, with the exception of ऋ, लृ, ऐ and औ.

1. Normal vowels:—

- (a) अग्नि—अग्नि, अग्ग—अग्र, अच्चुत—अच्युत, अद्द—अर्थ, आकास—आकाश, आसङ्क—आशङ्क, आसाळ्ही—आषाढी, सावको—श्रावकः.
- (b) इन्द्र—इन्द्र, इतिवुत्तक—इतिवृत्तक, इसिगिलि—ऋषिगिरि, ईसधर—ईशधर, गोतमी—गौतमी.
- (c) उक्कण्ठित—उत्कण्ठित, भिखु—भिक्षु, उग्ग—उग्र. उप्पलवण्णा—उत्पलवर्णा, खुज्ज—कुब्ज.
- (d) एक—एक, एणी—एणी, खेम—क्षेम.
- (e) पुरोहितो—पुरोहितः, गोपलपुत्तो—गोपालपुत्रः, कपोतो—कपोतः.

2. ऋ and लृ are represented in one of the following ways:—

- (a) by अ in गह—गृह, अच्छ—ऋक्ष, मच्चु—मृत्यु, मद्द—मृष्ट.
- (b) by इ in इण—ऋण, किरि—ऋश, सिगाल—ऋगाल, इसि—ऋषि.
- (c) by उ in उसभ—ऋषभ, पुच्छि—पृच्छ, परिवुतो—परिवृतः. In this case a labial before or after the ऋ is responsible for the change.
- (d) by रि or रु in इरिविज—ऋविज्, रिते—ऋते, रुक्ख—ऋक्ष.

3. ऐ and ओ become ए and ओ respectively.

एःचेतियगिरि-चैत्यगिरि, एरावण-ऐरावण, केलास-कैलास, वेदेह-वैदेह  
ओः गोतम-गौतम, ओसध-औषध, कोरव्य-कौरव्य, सोविर (रुद्र)-  
सौवीरराष्ट्र.

4. Change of vowels:—

- (a) अ becomes ए, हेद्वा-अधस्तात्, अन्तेपुर-अन्तःपुर, सेय्या-शय्या, पेय्याल-परियाय; or इ, तिपु-त्रपु, तिमिस्सा-तमिस्रा; or उ, chiefly beside labial, पण्णवीसति-पच्चविंशति, निमुज्जति-निमज्जति, पज्जुण्ण-पर्जन्य; or rarely ओ, सम्मोस-संमर्ष, तिरोख्ख-तिरस्क.
- (b) आ becomes ए, पारेवत-पारावत, मेत्त-मात्र, आचेर-आचार्य; or ओ, परोवर-परावर, दोसे-दोषा; or ऊ, especially in connection with roots गा to go and ज्ञा to know, अद्गु-अध्वग, सन्वञ्ज-सर्वज्ञः.
- (c) इ becomes अ, mostly as a result of dissimilation, घरणी-गृहिणी, पठवी-पृथिवी; or ए, एत्त-इयत्, मञ्जेद्द-मंज्जिष्ठ; or उ, राजुल-राजिल, गेरुक्-गैरिक. ई also is subject to the same changes; e. g. खेल-क्रीडा, गहेत्वा-गृहीत्वा.
- (d) उ becomes अ, अगरु-अगुरु, or ओ, ओक्का-उल्का, अनोपम-अनुपम.
- (e) ए becomes इ before double consonants, पसिच्चक-प्रसेवक, पटिविस्सक-प्रतिवेशक.
- (f) ओ becomes उ in the same manner, जुण्हा-ज्योस्ना, विसूक्-विशोक. 'The ओ due to contraction of अव् also changes; उस्साव-अवश्याय.

5. The law of quantity:—Long vowels are generally shortened before conjunct consonants:—

अज्जवम्-आर्जवम्, पुण्ण (नदी)-पूर्ण, तित्थ-तीर्थ, पत्ती-प्राप्ती, अत्तणो-आत्मनः, सक्क-शाक्य, सन्त-शान्त, दन्त-दान्त, वन्त-वान्त, गहिस्सति-गृहीष्यति.

- (a) Sometimes the double consonant is simplified and the long vowel is kept, thus preserving the quantity of the word as a whole.

आजव-आर्जव, ऊमि (also ऊम्मि)-ऊर्मि, अहासि-अहार्पाति, ऊहसन-उद् + हस्, ऊहत-उद्गत.

- (b) Sometimes, however, a long vowel is shortened and as compensation a following single consonant is doubled.

बहुष्णम्-बहूनाम्, निट्-नीड, जणु-जानु, पञ्चण्णम्-पञ्चानाम्, उप्पिस्स-उप्पीप्प.

- (c) As a corollary of the above, the vowels ए and ओ are to be regarded as naturally short before a double consonant and long before a single one  
e. g. सेय्या, उपेक्खा, ओस्सजति, योव्वन, मोक्ख.

- (d) Often however, long vowels are shortened without any compensation.

आगहित-आगृहीत, संखत-संख्यात, पञ्चवा-प्रज्ञावान्, अप्पातित-अप्रतीत, पानिय-पानीय, आचरिय (also आचेर)-आचार्य.

- (e) Short vowels are lengthened, mostly in the case of prepositions.

पाटिमोक्ख-प्रतिमोक्ष, पाकट-प्रकट, पावचन-प्रवचन.

Other cases of lengthening are:—

आजिर-अजिर, पायास-पायस, गावुत-गव्यूति.

Some of these cases may be regarded as compensatory for the loss of a consonant; but others have no such justification.

- (f) Nasalized vowels are often lengthened, when the nasal is dropped.

सीह-सिंह, वीसति-विंशति, दाटा-दंष्ट्रा, (सं) डास-दंश, तीस-त्रिंशत्.

The opposite process, viz., the development of a nasal where there was none originally is also observed. It is to be remarked, however, that in such cases the nasal generally repairs the loss of some consonant.



संवरी-शर्वरी, मंकुला-मत्कुण, cf. Pr. अंसुं, दंसण for अश्रु, दर्शन. सिंगाल-शंगाल, दण्ड-दद, नांग-नाग are cases where the nasal does not compensate any loss. Cf. मांगितलं of Konkani boys for standard Marāṭhī मांगितलें.

6. Vowels are often dropped without any compensation धीता-दुहिता, लंकार-अलंकार, पि-अपि, व-एव, परइसति-अपराध्यति.

*a. Consonants:*—The Pāli possesses all the Sanskrit consonants.

1. (a) कण्ह-कृष्ण, कासिगामक-काशिग्रामक; खज्ज-खाद्य, खर-खर, गग-गर्ग, गन्धव्व-गन्धर्व, घटिकार.
- (b) चक्कवत्ती-चक्रवर्ती, चेतिय-चैत्य, जम्बुदीप-जम्बुद्वीप, जेठ-ज्येष्ठ.
- (c) तक्क-तर्क, तिसस-तिष्ठ, थेर-स्थविर, दाक्खिणापथ-दक्षिणापथ, दुव्वच-दुर्वचस्; नन्द, नगर.
- (d) पज्जा-प्रज्ञा, पदुम-पद्म, फग्गुनी-फल्गुनी, बहुक, बोधिसत्त-बोधिसत्त्व, भिक्खु-भिक्षु, मइस्सिम-मध्यम.
- (e) यस-यश, रत्त-रक्त, लल्लवण-लक्षण, विरूपल्लव-विरुपाक्ष.
- (f) सक्क-शाक्य, सुदस्सन-सुदर्शन, सट्ठि-पाष्टि, हत्थिपाल-हस्तिपाल.
- (g) As was to be expected, cerebrals are found much more profusely than in Sanskrit. Vide section 34, 5. मकुट, जटिल, तिकूट-त्रिकूट, कटाह, घट, दुट्ठ, पठम, चण्ड, दण्ड, पुण्ण, जिण्ण.

2. But Sanskrit consonants are sometimes changed in Pāli.

- (a) चुण्ड-कुण्ड, भिसक्क-भिषक्, उस्सित-उच्छित, चेतक-चेतक, पज्जुण्ण-पर्जन्य, सक्कट-संस्कृत, दोहलिनी-दोहदिनी, विलास-विलास, सब्ब-सर्व, लद्धी-यष्टि, एलण्ड-एरण्ड, नलाट-ललाट.
- (b) Hard consonants are sometimes softened पसद-पृषत्, उद-उत, रुद-रुत, व्यावट-व्यावृत्.
- (c) A य sometimes appears for द, thus anticipating the यश्रुति of the Ardha-Māgadhi.

गोयान-गोदान, खायित-खादित, सायति-स्वादते. Cf. आलासिय in the passage quoted above.

- (d) Change is seen in the conjunct consonants, which show either simplification, when the preceding vowel is lengthened—vide 5 *a* above—or assimilation. मुत्त-मुक्क, दुद्ध-दुग्ध, उप्पतति-उत्पतति, बुब्बुल-बुब्बुद, सद्-शद्ध, लद्ध-लब्ध, उस्सुक्क-औत्सुक्य, वुच्चति-उच्यते, एकच्च-एकत्य, तप्पति-तप्यते show that a य् is generally assimilated to the preceeding element of the conjunct. Often, however, the conjunct is dissolved by an intervening vowel, thus giving anaptyxis. *e. g.*

आचारिय-आचार्य, सूरिय-सूर्य.

38. Inflection:—The Pāli like Sanskrit is yet rich both in declension and conjugation. However, the peculiar tendency of the Pāli shared also by the Prākṛits to either drop end-consonants or add an अ to them, has resulted in almost driving out consonantal declension from the Pāli. However some stray forms have still persisted in asserting their original nature; राजानं in the passage quoted above, तचो nom. pl. of तच्-त्वच्, वाचा instr. sing. of वाच्, पमुदि loc. sing. of पमुद्. But the way consonantal stems became vowel stems is shown by forms like गच्छन्तो, which formed the base by adding अ, Sk. गच्छन्त. Still, there are certain consonantal stems like अत्ता Sk. आत्मा, राजा Sk. राजा. We therefore divide Pāli declension into two classes, the vowel class and the consonantal class. There are only two numbers, and seven, often only six, cases, the genitive and dative as a rule, and the instrumental and ablative often, having merged together. This prepares the ground for the total loss of the dative in the Prākṛits, where the genitive has absorbed its functions. Thus we can understand expres-

sions like दामिलाय लेण in cave inccriptions, which means in Sk. दामिलस्य लयनम्,

a. Of vowel stems there are those in अ, आ, इ, ई, उ, ऊ, ओ. The terminations are the same as in Sanskrit, with proper phonetic changes and those referred to above. We shall give a few forms.

धम्म—the law or religion.		कज्जा—a girl.	
	Sing.	Pl.	
N.	धम्मो	धम्मा, धम्मासे	कज्जा कज्जा, कज्जायो
V.	धम्म-मा	धम्मा	कज्जे ,, "
A.	धम्मम्	धम्मे	कज्जम् ,, "
I.	धम्मेन	धम्मेभि, धम्मेहि	कज्जाय कज्जाभि, कज्जाहि
D. & G.	धम्मस्स (rarely) धम्माय	धम्मानम्	कज्जाय कज्जानम्
Ab.	धम्मा, धम्मस्मा, धम्मम्हा		कज्जाय कज्जाभि-हि
L.	धम्मे, धम्मस्सिमम्, धम्मम्हि	धम्मेसु	कज्जाय कज्जायम् } कज्जासु.

The abl. and loc. of अ stems show three forms each, one in keeping with Sanskrit but the other two formed on the analogy of the forms of the pronouns. The nom. plu. धम्मासे, intrs. abl. pl. धम्मेभि, धम्मेहि remind one of the Vedic forms देवासः and देवेभिः, to which, therefore, the former must be traced.

Instr. abl. gen. and loc. sing. forms of the आ stems are the same throughout. In this the Pāli appears to be influenced by classical Sanskrit, which has the same form at least for the abl. and gen. Pāli has drawn in the dat. in the loc., as that case was on its way to decline. And all these appeared to influence the loc. which, side by side with the regular form कज्जायम् also shows कज्जाय. This

latter form, however, is very rarely found. Still further abridged, the dative shows the आ ending<sup>1</sup> in certain stray forms *e.g.* एसना = एसनाय. A few forms of this dative in आय are used in the sense of the infinitive, भोजनथ्या or थ्याय in order to get food.

(b) In the declension of इ and उ bases, the अ declension has influenced the masculine and neuter forms of the dat. gen. whereby we get an अग्निस्स, side by side with अग्निनो. This is due to the influence of analogy, which has worked more havoc with the Pāli and Prākṛit forms than with Sanskrit ones. The loc. is formed on the analogy of pronouns *e.g.* अग्निस्मि, अग्निम्हि. The form अग्निनो of the dat. gen. is due to the analogy of the neuter form of इ, उ bases which show regular forms like अस्मिन्तो, Sk. अक्षः. These bases also show स्मात् forms for the abl. on the analogy of pronouns again *e.g.* अग्निस्मा, अग्निम्हा.

अग्निना for instr. and abl. of masc. and रत्तिया for the same cases of fem. bases in इ, show how the ablative is merging into the instrumental on account of the similarity of function of the two cases. The same is to be observed with regard to the उ declension.

(c) Although forms like राजानम्, रज्जा, रज्जो and राजिनो, रज्जे and राजिनि for the acc., inst., gen. and loc. respectively, prove the existence of consonantal declension in the Pāli, still other forms like युवानस्स and युवस्स for gen., युवाने, युवानस्मि, युवानम्हि and युवे for loc. show how this great class was on its decline, giving two bases—one by dropping the final consonant and another by adding an अ to it.

The declension of सखि is an interesting example of contamination. The acc. shows सखानं and सखे, the former

1. E. Müller, Simplified Grammar of the Pāli Language p. 67.

on the analogy of अन् stems that have retained their final and the latter on the analogy of such as have lost it.

(d) Pronouns generally agree in declension with their Sanskrit counterparts, with due phonetic changes.

*e. g.* अहम्, मम् and ममम्, मया, मम-ममम् and मय्हम्-अम्हम्, मयि are forms respectively of the nom., acc., instr.-abl., dat.-gen., and loc. of the pronoun of the first person.

त्वम्-तुवम्, त्वम्-तुवम् and तम्-तवम्, त्वया-तया, तव-तवम् and तुय्हम्-तुह्यम्, त्वयि-तयि, are corresponding forms of the pronoun of the second person.

For the third person, forms of the demonstrative are used and they are almost like Sk. forms.

*e. g.* सो, तम्, तेन, तस्मा-तद्वा, तस्स, तस्मिं-तद्भि.

(e) Pāli adjectives have declension and comparison as in Sanskrit. The suffixes for the two degrees are as in Sk. तर, तम and इयो-यो, इष्टः. There are irregularities in comparison as in Sanskrit.

<i>e. g.</i> अप्प = अल्प	कनीयो	कनिष्ठ
अन्तिक	नेदियो	नेदिष्ठ
पसत्थ = प्रशस्य	सेय्यो = श्रेयः	सेष्ठ = श्रेष्ठ

(f) Pāli numerals follow Sk. numerals closely, as एक, ति, छ, द्वादस or बारस, वीसम् or वीसति, तिसम् or तिसति, पञ्चासम् or पञ्चास etc. show. In declension they agree with Sanskrit; *e. g.* तयो, तीभि, तिण्णम्, तीसु = त्रयः, त्रिभिः, त्रयाणाम्, त्रिषु. The ordinals are पठम, दुतिय, ततिय (by dissimilation), चतुथ, छ्ठ etc.

b. Conjugation :—The Pāli shows as many classes of roots as the Sanskrit. Thus there are roots which take the conjugational sign, before which the root vowel either takes or does not take गुण; there are others which take no thematic vowel. Some show reduplication, while others infix a णा, णु or णो; there are also the उ and अय् classes.



Although according to Pāli grammarians like Kaccāyano, there are two voices the परस्सपद and अत्तनोपद, the Pāli literature favours the former. Forms like अम्हसे from अस्, ददाम्ह, अभिकीररे show that although it is looked upon more as परस्सपद, the अत्तनोपद is there. The Prākritis go a step further and drop the Atmanepada altogether.

The Pāli has four moods, including the subjunctive and four tenses, the present, aorist-imperfect, future and conditional. As we have remarked above, Pāli has no perfect.<sup>1</sup> As in inflection, the Pāli has given up the dual.

It must be noted, however, that many Pāli roots have changed their class; *e. g.* यायति from या to go, अयाय (which is to be looked upon as a form of the past tense of या and not as perfect of इ or या, as many scholars believe), टाति from स्था, beside तिष्ठति, दाति from दा, जिणाति from जि beside जयति-जेति; हनति from हन्, भायति from भी etc. They also change the पद; *e. g.* सेमि from शी, although the pres. part. सेमान still retains it.

a. The personal terminations are the same as in Sanskrit. Some paradigms will give an idea of Pāli conjugation :—

द्व = Sk. भू		असू	
होमि	होम*	अस्मि, आम्हे	अस्म, अम्ह
होसि	होथ	असि	अथ्थ
होति	होन्ति	अत्थि	सन्ति*
ब्रू Parsm.		Atta.	
ब्रूमि	ब्रूम	ब्रवे	ब्रूमहे
ब्रूसि	ब्रूथ	ब्रूसे	ब्रूव्हे
*ब्रूति, ब्रवति	ब्रवन्ति	ब्रूते	ब्रवन्ते

N. B.—The Pāli appears to make no distinction between strong and weak terminations. So that, if there is a

1. E. Müller also is misled by Kaccāyano, when he says that the Pāli has got the perfect. O. C. p. 96.

strengthening of the root vowel before the sing. terminations, it is kept up also before the pl. terminations, as in होमि and होम, अम्हि and अम्ह, ब्रवति and ब्रवन्ति. The form सन्ति is due to the influence of Sanskrit, which has often disturbed the phonology and inflection of the Pāli and Prākrits. This influence was at some period less, at another greater. It is perhaps exaggerated to say that such interference came after the 2nd or 3rd century A. C.<sup>1</sup> and was due to an imaginary secondary Sanskrit.

कृ

करोमि	करोम	मन् gives मुनाति
करोषि	करोथ	प्राप् ,, पापुणति
करोति	करोन्ति	पलाय् ,, पलेति Mar. पळतो

b. The imperative shows the same forms as in Sanskrit, excepting the मि and न्ति of the first sing. and third pl., which are due to the analogy of similar forms of the present. The हि going back upon old Sk. धि is seen where it is unusual in Sanskrit; *e. g.* गण्हाहि, गच्छहि. The -स्सु from -स्व of the 2nd pers. *attano.* is seen even with roots of the *parassapada*; *e. g.* भवस्सु, Sk. भव. cf. करोथ in the passage quoted above.

c. The subjunctive in Pāli was discovered by Pischel. As in Sanskrit it consists in the lengthening of the अ before terminations; *e. g.* हनासि, दहासि, दहाति.

d. The optative terminations are एय्यामि, एय्यासि, एय्य for singular and एय्याम or एम, एय्याथ or एथ, एय्युम् for the plural. This may be regarded as the strengthening of the Sk. terminations ईय etc. or as due to the सन्धि of the conjugational sign अ and ईय. Besides these, there is also current an ए for

1. O. Franke Pāli und Sanskrit p. 56-57. The statement of facts re. the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions at p. 54a go against his own theory. Against Franke, Windisch, Sprachlicher Charakter des Pāli, 21-22.

the three singulars; *e. g.* रोदे, आनये etc. This ए is to be traced to Sk. ऐ of first pers. sing. imperative. Examples:- भवेय्यामि, हुवेय्यामि, अहरेय्यासि, जानेमु (for म), पस्सेमु. Besides these there are the *attanopada* forms <sup>1</sup> एय्यम्-एय्यामहे etc.

*e.* The imperfect and aorist are not strictly distinguished in ordinary cases, the *s* formations only being distinctly aoristic. The augment, which originally indicated the past character of the two tenses<sup>2</sup>, is not obligatory in Pāli and has totally disappeared in the Prākritis.

Examples—अवचम्, अद्दसम् and अहुम् first sing. from भू, अहुवा, अद्दस third sing. ; अहुद्द, अहुवत्थ first and second pl., अस्सुम् third pl. from श्रु, अदख्खुम् from दृश्. The उम् of the third pers. pl. is from Sk. उस्.

The terminations of the *s* aorist are supposed to be due to the root अस्. Thus इष्म-इष्म, ई-इष्ट, ईत् and इषु: give in Pāli इम्-इद्द, इ-इत्थ, इ and ईसु or इसुम्.

Examples:—अदस्सिम्, अग्गहि; the imperfect-aorist of अस्, आसिम्, आसि, आसि sing. and आसिद्द, आसित्थ, आसिंसु pl.

*f.* The future is easily formed after Sanskrit, with proper phonetic changes.

Examples:—विचेस्सति, दख्खति = Sk. द्रक्ष्यति, दस्सामि, जिनिस्सति. दाख्खिस्सति is evidently a double future.

*g.* Besides the ordinary bases, there are in Pāli causatives, desideratives, intensives and denominatives. There are as in Sk. causatives in अय् and प्, the latter much more frequent in the Pāli than in Sanskrit. नायेति from नी, सुणापेति from श्रु, जिनापेति from जि. It is to be noted that before the प्, the root shows its full conjugational base.

पिपासति, बुमुख्खति, प्रहंसति are desideratives.

1. E. Müller, O. C. p. 108 ff.

2. See Supra p. 158.

लालपत्ति, चंकमति, जंगमति are intensives from लप्, क्रम् and गम्.  
पचतायति, गणीयति, थेनेति are denominatives of different kinds.

*h.* There are present, past, future and potential principles as in Sanskrit.

Examples :—लभन्तो, कुब्वाण, सयमाण pres. part. from लभ्, कृ and शी. पत्त, इद्, बन्ध, पिलन्ध past. pass. part. from प्राप्, इष्, बध् and पिन्ह् (the last by dissimilation).

दिन्न, जीन, शीन are past. part. in न.

जिनित्त्व, कतत्त्व, हीर are pot. part. from जि, कृ and ह्.

*i.* There are infinitives in तुम्, तवे, तये and तुये, thus showing the closer affinity of the Pāli with the Vedic Sanskrit.

*e. g.* जिनितुम्, पहातवे, गणेतुये, etc. from जि, हा and गण्.

There is also a variety of gerunds as in Vedic Sanskrit.

त्वा : गन्त्वा, दिश्वा ; त्वान : चेत्वान, जिनित्वान ; तून : कातून, सोतूनम्

य : आहच्च (from ह्), पतिच्च (from इ with प्रति).

त्वान is traceable to Vedic Sanskrit, but not perhaps तून and तूनम्, unless one regards them as weakened forms of the first.

From this brief examination of the Pāli from the phonological and morphological points of view, it is clear that in all respects the Pāli stands closer to old Sanskrit than do the Prākrits. Although like the Prākrits some vowels are dropped, the consonants are not subjected to an emasculation as in the Prākrits. Pāli inflection has not lost as much of the wealth of forms as the Prākrits have. The Pāli stage, as it is called,<sup>1</sup> is therefore anterior to the Prākrit stage.

1. Wackernagel, O.C. p. XVIII.

39. **Origin of the Pāli language:**—What is the basis of this literary Pāli? This is a question that has puzzled scholars, and is perhaps not yet set at rest. This question and the question of the home of the Pāli are so interrelated, that we must not only treat them together, but rather take the latter first.

Kuhn, following the tradition that Mahinda, Aśoka's son born in Ujjayinī, took the canon with him to Ceylon, when Ujjayini was the capital of the Malava Country, thinks that the dialect of Ujjain was the basis of the literary Pāli. Oldenberg, on the other hand, thinks that Pāli was the vernacular of Kalinga, and that the Buddhist migration to Ceylon must have gone from that country. This conclusion was arrived at after comparison of the Pāli with the inscription at Khandagiri. E. Müller agrees with this conclusion,<sup>1</sup> although on different grounds.

Franke, in his Pāli and Sanskrit, has dealt with the question at length. He has compared the language of the various Prākṛit inscriptions, which he calls inscriptional Pāli and on noting that literary Pāli is different from the language of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, inscriptions of the east and south and south-west, has arrived at the conclusion that the home of the literary Pāli must be within the region surrounded by the Prākṛit inscriptions, *i. e.* the region round about Ujjayinī.<sup>2</sup>

Windisch rightly points out that the Pāli did not agree with any of the Prākṛits on the inscriptions, because it

1. O. C. p. IV.

2. O. Franke, O. C. 131-132. A summary and good criticism of his arguments will be found in E. Windisch's 'Über den sprachlichen Charakter des Pāli,' esp. p. 23. Cf. also Grierson, Home of Literary Pāli, p. 117 of the Bhandarkar Commemoration volume.



had long ceased to be a dialect of any province, but had become a *Koṇī* or literary language, for the same reasons as Luther's dialect became the High German. When a language becomes more and more a common language, it gives up by and by its original dialectic peculiarities. But even a literary language must have a dialect of some region as its basis, and Pāli, according to Windisch whom Grierson follows, had for its basis the Māgadhī. No doubt the Pāli does not show the peculiarities of the latter, viz. the ए of the nom. sing. masc. of अ bases, and the invariable लृ for रृ. But these were given up by the Pāli, when it became almost a lingua franca, in preference to ओ and रृ which were more commonly found in other dialects. But some traces of these are yet found in the Pāli. *Bhikkhave* the vocative, modelled upon the nominative, is still preserved, as it was a word of address used by Buddha so frequently in his discourses. Tradition also says that the Pāli represents the जिनवचनं or बुद्धवचनं and that the Buddha spoke in मागधी. The characteristic लृ of the Māgadhī is found in Pāli words like लुद्, अगलु, पल्लिवेडेति, इसिगिलि for Sk. रुद्, अगरु, परिवेष्टयति, ऋषिगिरि. Cf. also मालुत for मास्त. Windisch rightly points out that the लृ and ए were not peculiar to Māgadhī only; they were current in Kapilavastu also, as the Piprāvā inscription shows. That the Pāli had adopted more current forms of other dialects, and had thus acquired a mixed character is shown by a variety of forms for one case like धम्मे, धम्मस्सि, धम्महि.

40. The Inscriptional Prakrits.—These are known to us from the rock—and pillar edicts of king Aśoka (circa. 273 B. C. to 231 B. C.). The importance of these inscriptions from the historical point of view is indeed very great; but that from the linguistic point of view is not smaller. There are fourteen principal edicts promulgated on rocks

and seven on pillars. The former are written in two scripts, the Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī. The inscriptions found at Shāhbāzgarhi, formerly called Kapurdigiri, near Attock and at Mansehra, near Abbottabad in Northern Punjab, are written in the Kharoṣṭhī script. Those at Girnar in Kāthiawad, Śūrparaka or Sopara in Thana district, Khālsī in Dehrā Dūn district, Dhauli in Kuttak and Jaugaḍa in Ganjam districts are found in the Brāhmī script. The pillar edicts were found at Siwālik, Mirat, Allahabad, Radhia, Mathia, Rāmpūrva etc. Besides these, there are versions of the edicts found on topes and caves, *e. g.* Sanchi, Bhabra, Barābar (Nāgārjuni caves). There are also inscriptions of Aśoka's followers. But later on the Prākrits as language of the inscriptions began to disappear, and Sanskrit usurped their place. Franke has shown that Sanskrit, as language of inscriptions, begins to appear from the first century B. C. and becomes with the Guptas the only inscriptional language.

The first European to decipher the inscriptions was Prinsep. Cunningham followed him and published them in the "Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum" 1877. His edition is now antiquated. Senart then took up the work and began editing them from 1881 onwards in his "Les inscriptions de Piyadasi". This has been translated by Grierson in the Indian Antiquary, Vols. IX, X, XII, XVII to XXI.

The standard edition of these edicts is that of Bühler in *Epigraphia Indica* I and II. Böhlers "Contributions to the explanation of the Aśoka-inscriptions" 1909 is also the best work of its kind.

Leaving the minor rock-and the pillar edicts, we shall consider the principal edicts only. They are found at

Shāhbāzgarhī, Mansehrā and Khālsī in the north-west and north, Girnar in the west and Dhauli and Jaugada in the east. They are supposed to represent what is called by Pischel the *Leṇā* dialect. This is a misnomer; because the inscriptions give evidence of difference in dialects, as the following comparison will show. We take for illustration the first edict as it is found in the west at Girnar and in the east at Jaugada.

a. Girnar version of the first edict<sup>1</sup>:—

इयं धंमलिपी देवानं प्रियेन प्रियदसिना राजा लेखापिता. इध न किंचि जीवं आरभित्वा प्रजुहितव्यम् न च समाजो कतव्यो. बहुकं हि दोसं समाजमिह पसति देवानं प्रियो प्रियदसि राजा. अस्ति पितु एकचा समाजा साधुमता देवानं प्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो. पुरा महानसमिह देवानं प्रियम प्रियदसिनो राजो अनुदिवसं बहूनि प्राणस-तसहस्रानि आरभिसु सूपाथाय. से अज यदा अयं धंमलिपी लिखिता ती एव प्राणा आरभरे सूपाथाय द्वो मोरा एको मगो. सोपि मगो न धुवो. एतेपि त्री प्राणा पछा न आरभिसरे.

b. Jaugada version of the same<sup>2</sup>:—

इयं धम्मलिपि खविगलसि पवतसि देवानं प्रियेन लाजिना लिखापिता. हिद नो किञ्चि जीवं आलभितु पजोहितविये, नापि समाज कटविये. बहुकं हि दोसं समाजस दसति देवानं प्रिये प्रियदसि लाजा. अथि पि चु एकतिया समाजा साधुमता देवानं प्रियस प्रियदसिने लाजिने. पुलुवं महानससि देवानं प्रियस प्रियदसिने लाजिने अनु-दिवसं बहूनि पानसतसहस्रानि आलभियिसु सुपठाये. से अज अदा इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता तिनि येव पानानि आलभियंति दुवे मजुला एके मिगे. सेपि चु मिगे नो धुवं. एतानि पि चु तिनि पानानि पछा नो आलभियिसंति.

First of all there is a phonological difference between the two versions, viz. that while Girnar shows a *ṛ* like Pāli,

1. Bühler, E. I. II 448.

2. Bühler, *Aśoka Inschriften* p. 3.

Jaugada shows a *ṛ* like Māgadhi *e. g.* राजा and लाजा, आरभितु आलभितु; whereas Girnar shows conjuncts, Jaugada simplifies them by स्वरभक्ति or anaptyxis *e. g.* कतव्यो bad writing for कतव्यो and कटविये; the loss of the lingual *ṛ* is not compensated in Girnar but it is made up by lingualising the following *t* in Jaugada, सूपाथाय, सूपाठये. The Sk. *ṛ* is represented in Girnar by अ, but in Jaugada by an इ, *e. g.* मगो and मिगो; इय and हिद् show the same kind of variation as is seen in the Marāṭhī इथें and हित्ते; Girnar has ण, ज and न्, Jaugada त only.

In morphology too there is a marked difference in the two versions. Girnar has पियो like Pāli, Jaugada has पिये like Māgadhi; मगो-मिगे, सो-से. Girnar has loc.sing. in म्हि, Jaugada in सि; समाजम्हि, महानसम्हि but महानससि, पवतसि. The former has the रे of the third plu. seen in Vedic दुहे, शेरे, while the latter has the regular अंति of the Pāli and Prākritis; *e. g.* आरभिसंरे but आलभियिसंति.

This is sufficient to show that the western and the eastern versions show variations sufficient to warrant their being called dialectal. We shall now take a specimen of the northern version and compare it with the two above.

c. Mansehra version<sup>1</sup> of the same edict:—

आयि ध्रमादिपि देवन प्रियेन प्रियद्रशिण राजिन लिखपित. हिद् नो किचि जिबे अरभितु प्रयुहोतविये. नो पिच समज कटविय. बहुक हि दोष समजस देवनं प्रिये प्रियदर्शि रज देखति. अस्ति पिचु एकतिय समज साधुमत देवनं प्रियस प्रियदर्शिने राजिने. पुर महनसासि देवन प्रियस प्रियदर्शिस राजिने अनुदिदसं बहुनि प्रणशत-सहस्रानि आरभिसु सुपथये से इदनि यद् आयि ध्रमादिपि लिखिततद् तिनि येव प्रणनि अरभियंति दुवे मजर एके म्रिगे. सेपिचु म्रिगे नो ध्रुवं. एतानि पि चु तिनि प्रणनि पच नो आरभिसंति.

1. Bühler, O. C. p. 205.



It will be seen at a glance, that in phonology this agrees partly with Girnar and partly with Jaugada. The agreement with Girnar consists in the preservation of the र्, रजिन, पुरः but कटविये, मजुर agree with Jaugada. In morphology however, this agrees entirely with Jaugada: *e. g.* ए of the nom. sing. masc., सि of the loc. sing. A remarkable feature, however, not common with the two above, is the perservation of the palatal sibilant ऋ, also of ष. This was perhaps due to the greater influence of Sanskrit that is seen throughout this version *e. g.* अस्ति, प्राणा, ध्रम (दिपि), प्रियदर्शिन. Uncommon influence of Sanskrit is also seen on the Shāhbāzgarhi version.

*a. The inscriptions show at least more than two dialects:—* It will be clear from the above that the inscriptions show dialectal variations. There was one dialect current in the province round and about Girnar; another near Jaugada and a third in the district round Mansehra: or that there was a dialect of the north, another of the west, a third of the east, besides the one principal central dialect of Magadha in which the edicts must have been issued originally. This dialect must have exercised a greater influence over neighbouring dialects, *e. g.* that of Jaugada and Dhauli, than on others more distant, *e. g.* that of Girnar. This accounts for the र् and ओ of Girnar, and the ऋ and ए of Dhauli-Jaugada.

Taking the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra versions we find that though there is a remarkable phonological resemblance between the two, yet morphologically Shāhbāzgarhi version stands nearer to Girnar and Mansehra to Jaugada at least in respect of the ओ and ए endings. It is perhaps owing to this last consideration chiefly, that Senart speaks of the two great groups of inscriptional dialects viz. that comprising the Girnar and Shāhbāz-



garhi inscriptions and that comprising Khālsī, Mansehra, Dhauli, Jaugada and all the minor ones. 'From this point of view (*i. e.* dialectic differences) the monuments of Piya-dasi divide themselves into two main groups. In the one there is no cerebral  $\eta$ , palatal  $\bar{\eta}$ , an initial  $y$  is elided,  $l$  is substituted for  $r$ , the nominative masculine and usually the nominative neuter end in  $e$ , and the locative in  $asi$ ; the other distinguishes the cerebral  $\eta$  and the palatal  $\bar{\eta}$ , retains the initial  $y$  and the  $r$  unchanged, makes the nominative singular of masculine  $a$  bases end in  $o$ , and the locative in *amhi* or in इ.<sup>1</sup>

But apart from the agreement shown by the language of Girnar and Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions in the points noted above, there are also differences which warrant their being classed as distinct dialects. The differences are:—

(a) Girnar has only one sibilant स्, whereas Shāhbāzgarhi and for the matter of that Mansehra also, has all the three, झ, ष् and स्; *e. g.* दोष, प्रियदर्शि, प्रियस;

(b) the groups त्<sup>2</sup> and स्त at Girnar only; *e. g.* आरमिता, तिस्तन्तो;

(c) the representation of थ् by थ at Girnar and ट at Shāhbāzgarhi; *e. g.* सूयथाय and सूयठये;

(d) the nominative singular neuter in म् at Girnar and in ए Shāhbāzgarhi *e. g.* जीवं and जीवे;

(e) the third pers. pl. in -रे at Girnar and -सु at Shāhbāzgarhi.

(f) the loc. sing. in -म्हि (also -ए) at Girnar, and in -सि (also -ए) but never -म्हि at Shāhbāzgarhi;

1. Senart, I. A. XXI p. 171-72.

2. Bühler Aśoka Inschriften p. 3 thinks that this is a careless writing for ण.

(g) the gen. sing. of इन् bases in -इनो at Girnar and -इस at Shāhbāzgarhi, *e. g.* प्रियदसिनो and पियदसिस.

Senart admits<sup>1</sup> that 'to a certain degree at least,' these two inscriptions 'do reflect different shades of dialect'. But he is not ready to admit the same with regard to the other group, which shows more Māgadhisms than the one we have just dealt with. That even at Girnar and at Shāhbāzgarhi we have to reckon with certain Māgadhisms is clear from nom. sing. in ए *e. g.* Girnar, edict XII line 1 where प्रिये is quite distinct; and Shāhbāzgarhi, edict X line 1 where too it is equally distinct.

It is worth noting that the similarity between the Dhauli-Jaugarā and the Khālsī versions is very remarkable for their great distance. It can, however, be explained in this way, that both these provinces viz. the Kuttak-Ganjam and the upper-Jumna province, were so closely connected with the central province of the empire, that the peculiar dialects of these gave up their individual peculiarities in preference to the peculiarities of the court language.

Franke has taken great pains to prove the 'Pāli-grundlage'<sup>2</sup> (grounding) of the dialects of this and the immediately following period. It is enough to say that the dialects represented on the Aśokan and post-Aśokan inscriptions are the natural development of the dialects spoken in Buddha's times, one of which is preserved to us in the literary Pāli. Nobody can think of tracing them immediately to Vedic Sanskrit.

1. O. C. p. 172.

2. Pāli and Sanskrit p. 66.

We shall note some phonological and morphological peculiarities of the inscriptional dialects before proceeding to the consideration of the literary Prākṛits.

**41. Phonology:**—The inscriptional dialects agree with the Pāli sound system entirely. Of vowels ऋ, लृ, ऐ and औ are lost; consonants are still not on their way to decline as in the literary Prākṛits. We shall only note changes<sup>1</sup> in vowels and consonants.

- (a) Change in quantity:—lengthening apparently due to no cause in चिकीछ Girnar II-Sk. चिकित्सा; सर्वता Girnar II-सर्वत्र, मितसंस्तुत Gir III-मित्रसंस्तुत; पियसा, पियदसिसा Khālsī II-प्रियस्य प्रियदर्शि (स्य); अदमनसा Khālsī VI; shortening due to a conjunct or anuswāra in धंमनुसथिया Khālsī III-धर्मानुशस्त्या. This shortening often does not take place; but the conjunct is simplified and the vowel lengthened in दासाभिसितेन Gir. III-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन. रजिन, लिखपित Mansehra I, दनेन Shāh. XII-दानेन, देवनं Shāh. XI-देवानाम्.
- (b) Change in quality:—चु Gir. I-च; मगो Gir. I-मृगः; लिखापिता Jaugada I-लेखापिता, कता Gir. I-कृते; यारिसे Gir. IV-यादृशे; पिरिंद Gir. XIII-पुलिंद.
- (c) Anaptyxis in गलहा Khālsī XII-गर्हा; (इथी Gir. XII-छी), प्रापुणोति Gir. XIII-प्राप्नोति; वियंजनते Khālsī, Jaugada III-व्यंजनतः.
- (d) Syncope:—ओलोधनसि Khālsī VI-अवरोधे; थेरे Gir. IV through थइरे-स्थविरे. Dropping of a consonant between vowels has not yet become so frequent as later.

1. Senart, O. C. Part II. Ind. Ant. XXI p. 2 ff.

- (e) Changes in consonants:—प्राजितानि Khālsī XII-प्रजितानि, संप्रतिपति Gir. IV-संप्रतिपत्तिः showing cerebral in place of dental when a र् is dropped before it; यारिस, तारिस Gir. IV where त् is changed to र्; लहुका Gir. Khālsī XII-लघुका, हेंति, अहुंसु Khālsī IV etc.-भवन्ति, अभवन् where भ् is simplified into ह्; conjuncts are simplified in various ways, *e. g.* अभिसित Gir. III-अभिषिक्त, अतिकंत Khālsī IV-अतिक्रान्तं; वच्छा Gir. III, लुखानि Khālsī-वृक्षाः; अगिकंधानि Khālsī IV, अगिखंधानि Gir. IV-अगिस्क्रन्धानि; आत्मपासंड Gir. XII, अतपाषंड Khālsī XII-आत्मपाषंड; घरस्तानि Gir. XII or गहृथानि Khālsī XII-गृहेस्थानि or गृहस्थानि; वढी Gir. Khālsī XII-वृद्धि; अज Gir. Jaugada I; उयानेसु Gir. VI, उयानसि Jaugada VI-उयानेषु; ब्राह्मगसामणानं Gir. IV, बंभनसमनानं Khālsī-ब्राह्मगश्रमणानाम्. From all these cases it will be seen that the conjunct shows assimilation first and then simplification, even without lengthening of the preceding vowel.

42. Inflection:—(a) As in the Pāli, the consonantal declension tends to merge into the vowel-especially the अ-class. Still लाजिना, लाजिने, राजा, राजो, भ्राता, मातरि, पितरि, यसो and other forms show that a few consonantal bases are preserved.

The nominative singular of masculine अ bases ends in ओ in Girnar, Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions and in ए in the rest. But even the former show the distinctly मागधी ending ए *e. g.* राजुके Gir. III beside रजुको Shāh. III, धर्मसंस्तवे beside धर्मसंविभागो Shāh. XI, देवानं पिये beside देवानं पियो according to Senart's reading.

The neuters show the usual म् *e. g.* जीवं Gir. I; but it often takes the ए on the analogy of masculine अ beses *e. g.*

जिवे Shāh. I, अजे बहुविधे धंमचरणे Gir. IV. The distinction in gender is thus obscured and we get forms like हिरणपटिविधानो Gir. VIII, if Senart's<sup>1</sup> reading is correct. Bühler<sup>2</sup> reads पटिविधाने, which would be a good parallel to जिवे of Shāh I.

The dative is in अय or अये. एताय अथाय Gir. III, एतये अठये Shāh. V. Even feminines have य; इमाय धम्मनुसत्थिय Gir. III,

The ablative ends in आ, as the final consonant is ever avoided सवलोक-हितप्ता Gir. VI. Fem. तम्बपणी Gir. II.

The gen. ends in स through स्स from स्य, even in the case of इ bases. प्रियदसिसा Khālsī I, beside प्रियदसिनो Gir. I and प्रियदसिने Jaugada I. The ओ gen. of राज्ञो is due to Sk. असू in राज्ञः.

The loc. ends in म्हि, ए in Girnar-Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions and in सि (through स्सि from स्मिन्), ए in the other group. विजितम्हि Gir. II, विजिते Gir. III, विजितसि Jaugada II.

The plurals are almost regular, with due phonetic changes. महामाता Gir. V-महामात्राः, ओसधानि Jaugada II-औषधानि, चातिनं Gir. IV-ज्ञातानाम्, चातीसु Gir. IV-ज्ञातिषु. A nom. plural in ए is seen in पादेसिके Gir., Jaugada, Khālsī III-प्रादेशिकाः; बहुहि वससतेहि Gir. IV is looked upon as plural of the ablative by Senart.<sup>3</sup>

Of pronouns the following forms, occurring in most of the edicts, should be noted.

ममया, मम; अजे nom. sing. अञ्चानि, अन्नानि pl.; अयम् both masc. and fem., इमं, इमाय, इमिना, इमस, इमम्हि; एस, एतम्, एताय, एताये etc. किञ्चि; सो, ताय, तम्हि; यं, यानि etc.

1. Inscriptions de Piyadasi, Ind. Ant. XXI 5.

2. Asoka Inschriften p. 52.

3. O. C. p. 6.



(b) In conjugation too, the dialects of the inscriptions agree materially with the Pāli, as the following forms will show.

1. भवति, भोति and होति Mansehra XII, where the first form is to be regarded as a Sanskritism ; पापुनोति, मनति, गलहति, पुनाति, पसति, दखति, कलेति = प्राप्नोति, पश्यति, करोति. आरभरे<sup>1</sup> is passive, explained by Bühler as coming through आरभरे from आरभ्यन्ते; Jaugada has the pass. आलभियन्ति.
2. नियातु or नियान्तु, युजन्तु, are imperatives and गच्छेयम्, तिष्ठेय, वासेसु, सिया or शिया (स्यात्), पटिपजेय (प्रतिपद्येत), असु (=स्युः) are potentials.
3. अहुंसु, आरभिसु from आरभिसु according to Senart,<sup>2</sup> आलभियिसु Jaugada are aorists. आह is the only perfect seen in these inscriptions.
4. लिखापयिसं, आरभिसरे (pass.), अनुवतिसरे (= अनुवर्तिष्यन्ते ), अनपयिसंति (causal), अनुसासिसंति, वधियिसति equivalent to वर्धयिष्यति, निखामयिसामि are futures.
5. Causal is formed by adding प्. लेखापिता, हारापिताः. रोपापिताः is a double causal ; अजापयिसंति. Still there are some traces left of the य् causal; e. g. आलोचेत्वा -आलोचयित्वा.
6. There are absolutives and infinitives and participles of all kinds.  
e. g. आरभिसा (=त्वा) Gir. I, आलभितु Dhauli I are absolutives.  
आराधेतुम्; खमितवे Gir. III appears to be an infinitive.  
कट, कत, वधित, मत, विजित, खानापित are past participles.

1. O. C. p. 3.

2. O. C. p. 8.

करंतं Shāh. XII, करं Gir. XII according to Senart (कुर्वन्), करोन्तो Gir. XII, तिस्टन्तो Gir. IV are pres. part. कटविये, कतध्वो, पजूहितविअं are potential participles.

We have pointed out the Sanskritisms from time to time. Franke admits that they are more numerous in the Shāhbāzgarhi inscription, perhaps because it was very near Kashmir, the home of the so called secondary Sanskrit. But words and forms like प्राण, सहस्र, बहुकं, अनुदिवसं, नास्ति आह, मातरि, पितरि, संस्तुत, भूतं, अविहिंसा, अनारम्भः, भवति that occur within the first four edicts alone of Girnar, show that Sanskrit tradition was current and unbroken then, as it was in later centuries and exercised its influence over the growing vernaculars. The same is observable in the literary Marāṭhī or Hindi or Bengali of today.

---

## PART V.

### THE LITERARY PRĀKRITS AND THE VERNACULARS.

#### *I The Prākritis.*

43. The name and genesis:—Under the name Prākrit, the grammarians understand various languages. The oldest of them, Vararuci, mentions four: the Māhārāṣṭri, Paiśācī, Māgadhī and Śaurasenī. Hemacandra, a Jain writer belonging to the end of the 12th century, mentions three more, the Arṣa which is nothing else than the Ardhamāgadhī of others, the Chulikāpaiśācika and the Apabhraṃśa. Later grammarians follow Hemachandra generally.

Vararuci does not recognise Apabhraṃśa as a separate Prākrit, perhaps rightly so. It was what some rhetoricians called देशभाषितं or spoken language of the country or people. Daṇḍī<sup>1</sup> tells us that in Kāvya, Apabhraṃśa meant language of cowherds and such other people, and in text books (of grammar or rhetoric) whatever was different from Sanskrit was called Apabhraṃśa. Under Prākrit he understands माहाराष्ट्री, which is Prākrit par excellence,<sup>2</sup> शौरसेनी, गौडी and लटी. गौडी was evidently another name for मागधी; what he understood by लटी is not quite clear.

All Prākrit grammarians understand that the origin of these languages is Sanskrit. We, however, know that this could not have been the case. These literary languages are derived from dialects—say Apabhraṃśas—which

1. काव्यादर्श १, ३७.

2. O. C. १, ३४.

with the dialects of the inscriptions, the Pāli and the Vedic Sanskrit form one continuous chain. Their development from the inscriptional dialects will be clear from the few points which we note as follows:—

- Pr. लिहावइशम्—Girnar लिखापयिसम्  
 „ सयणिज्जयम्मि, पुत्तंसि—Gir. समाजहि, महानसहि  
 „ अग्गिणो and अग्गिस्स—Inscr. पियदासिनो and पियदसिस्  
 „ पुत्तेहि—Inscr. बहुहि.

Then the general agreement in phonology, which we shall notice below, points to the same direction. Only, we cannot show more points of harmony in morphology, as the Prākrits show a decidedly analytic stage.

That the Prākrits, through the inscriptional dialects reach back to the Vedic language<sup>1</sup> directly is shown by facts and forms like the following:—

- (a) The looseness of Samdhi rules and स्वरभक्ति, which is very common in the Prākrits. Pr. भारिया, कसट सनान for भार्या, कष्ट, स्नान. Cf. col. Mar. सनान.
- (b) In phonology, the Prākrits like the Vedic, change single d, dh between two consonants to l, lh, Ved. ईळे; Pr. गुळ, Mar. गूळ; Pr. सोळस, Mar. सोळा; Ved. गूळ्ह, समूळ्ह, Pr. गोळ्हा; the Vedic combination स्क is seen in Pr. ख *e. g.* स्कम्म, Pr. खम्म, This cannot go back to classical Sanskrit स्तम्भ; Ved. सघ्रीम्, Pr. सद्धिम्; Ved. कथा, Pr. किध, किह;
- (c) In inflection certain forms go back only to Vedic Sanskrit, *e. g.* nom. pl. आहो, Vedic आसः, पुत्ताहो Ved. देवासः, gen. sing. fem. आए to Vedic आयै

Cf. तजायाये जायात्वम्, Pr. मालाए; instr. pl. एहि to Vedic एभिः ; cf. देवेभिः, P. बहुहि, Pr. पुत्तेहि; imp. 2nd. sing. होहि to Vedic बोधि, Pr. कुणदि to Vedic. कृणोति; infinitives in आए and तए, Vedic तवै; cf. Pr. वत्थए to Vedic वस्तवै.

- (d) In vocabulary, the Prākrits possess certain words that are traceable only to Vedic Sanskrit *e. g.* पासो from Ved. पशु; ता, जा, एत्थ from Ved. तात्, यात्, इत्था; धिसु, Ved. ध्रंस.

Except in the माहाराष्ट्री, there is not much literature in the other Prākrits. But we find them used to a certain extent in the Sanskrit dramas. The शौरसेनी is the language of prose in the dramas, although of course it is spoken by inferior characters and women only. It is the language of the prose in कर्पूरमंजरी throughout. The अर्धमागधी, a border language between the मागधी and शौरसेनी and therefore showing features of both, possesses a lot of literature. It is the language of the sacred canon of the Jainas and all their अङ्ग and उपाङ्ग works like आचारङ्ग, उवासगदसाओ and कण्णमुत्त are written in it. The Māgadhī fares worst of all. It is found used by some minor characters in the मृच्छकटिक and other dramas and the शाकारी, चाण्डाली, बाह्लीकी are according to grammarians, its subdialects.<sup>1</sup> The पैशाची shows no extant literature. The बृहत्कथा of गुणढय was, according to very old tradition, written in the पैशाची. Hemcandra<sup>2</sup> mentions a dialect चूलिकापैशाचिकम्. When दण्डी calls it a भूतभाषा,<sup>3</sup> he only misunderstands the name. The माहाराष्ट्री is the most important of all these Prākrits. It must have become a literary language sometime before the first known drama-

1. Pischel, Grammatik p. 24.

2. IV 325 to 328, in Pischel O. C. p. 27.

3. काव्यादर्श I. 38.



tist wrote his work, as in all dramas Prākṛit poetry is written in माहाराष्ट्री only. The heroines, for instance, ordinarily speak the शौरसेनी, but when they speak in verse, they exclusively use the माहाराष्ट्री. The entire verse-portion of the कर्पूरमञ्जरी is written in it. The language and the form acted mutually upon each other: the verses were written in it, because it lent itself easily to poetic composition; and because it was almost exclusively used in such composition, its supple character was accentuated. It became, therefore, language of poetic composition par excellence. सत्तसई and वज्जालग the two lyrical anthologies, रावणवहो and गजद्वहो the two epics, and the drama कर्पूरमञ्जरी (partly) are the well-known works in that language.

अपभ्रंश, as we have seen, means a colloquial dialect underlying any of the literary Prākṛits. Hence it is, that in enumerating languages, grammarians give it a separate place beside संस्कृत and प्राकृत. दण्डी,<sup>1</sup> classifying literature speaks of संस्कृतं, प्राकृतं, अपभ्रंशः, and मिश्रम्. Originally it must have been the language of the people, and works must have been written in it later, to enable दण्डी to make this classification. The varieties of the अपभ्रंश, like नागर, वाचड, उपनागर and वारेन्द्री are, according to grammarians,<sup>2</sup> spoken in provinces like सिन्ध in the west and वंग in the east. Pingala's Chandassūtra and the Prākṛit of the fourth act of the Vikramorvaṣī are the only specimens of literature in अपभ्रंश besides the verses quoted by हेमचन्द्र in his grammar.

Pischel<sup>3</sup> concludes from such facts that 'we have therefore to distinguish between a Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa, the

1. O. C. I 32.

2. Pischel O. C. 27.

3. O. C. p. 3.

old colloquial language of the Śūrasenas of which the modern Gujarātī and Mārwarī are continuations, and a Śaurasenī Prākṛit, a literary language'. In the same way there was a Māhārāṣṭrī Apabhraṃśa from which the modern Marāṭhī has descended, and a Māgadhi Apabhraṃśa from which the Bihārī and the Bengali have descended. We have to remark again that a literary language is not an 'artificial' language made by any body, but one or another dialect raised to the dignity of a common language of literature and which therefore has got an accepted fixed form incapable of further development.

It is to be noted that the names of these languages are derived either from the countries where they were current, or from the people by whom they were spoken. Thus the महाराष्ट्री was the language of महाराष्ट्र, the country lying south of the विन्ध्य and north of the river नर्मदा. शौरसेनी belonged to the शूरसेनाः, the country round about मथुरा comprising, say, part of eastern Punjab also; अर्धमागधी lay to the east of शौरसेनी in the district of Allahabad etc.; मागधी had मगध or Bihar for its country, whose capital was first राजगृह, then पाटलिपुत्र. Thus they were spread over the whole of upper India, north of the Satpura range and west of the Hoogli river.

But where is the home of the पेशाची to be sought? The grammarians and rhetoricians had no idea of it. They misunderstood the name and thought that it was a language of spirits and goblins. The Mahābhārata<sup>1</sup> mentions the पिशाच people amongst the tribes that distinctly point to the north-west as their home. They are the काश्मीराः, उरसाः (according to Grierson,<sup>2</sup> the modern Punjab district of Hazara), पेशाचाः, काम्बोजाः (a tribe of the Hindū

1. VII, 499.

2. Ind. Ant. XLIII p. 144.

Kush), the दरदा: (or Dards) and the शका: (Scythians). From such references and linguistic evidence, Grierson has conclusively proved that the wild tribes of the extreme North-west,<sup>1</sup> immediately to the south of the Hindū Kush, are the modern representatives of the ancient पिशाचाः. Some grammarians state, that there were the केकय, शूरसेन and पञ्चाल varieties<sup>2</sup> of the पैशाची. This would mean that the पिशाच and their language had occupied a goodly portion of the modern Punjab and that on their border these mixed idioms arose. The connection between the पैशाची and शूरसेनी, which the above presupposes, is significant. And we have to understand the remark of Varanci,<sup>3</sup> that the शूरसेनी is the प्रकृति or basis of the पैशाची in the light of it. All that is meant thereby is, that, special features apart, both the languages underwent similar changes; and that perhaps the पैशाची borrowed much from शूरसेनी vocabulary as also from Sanskrit.<sup>4</sup> The above disposes of the theory of Hoernle,<sup>5</sup> that Paisācī was a Prākṛit spoken by Dravidian aborigines.

It will be clear from the above and from the phonology of the Prākṛits, which we shall presently take up, that the traditional view represented by the grammarians regarding the Prākṛits is the right one. There is no doubt about the fact that Vararuci, the oldest of the Prākṛit grammarians, and probably<sup>6</sup> the same as the Vārtikakāra Kātyāyana, Canda who is to be placed much anterior to

1. Z. D. M. G. LXVI p. 69, 74.

2. मार्कण्डेय quoted in Pischel, Grammatik p. 27.

3. प्राकृतप्रकाश X, 2.

4. Grierson, Paisācī, Pisācas and Modern Pisāca, Z. D. M. G. LXVI p. 65,

5. Gaudian Grammar p. xix.

6. Pischel, Grammatik p. 34.

Hemcandra, and even to Dhanapāla, the Prākṛit lexicographer of the 10th century A. C. and Hemcandra were right in their four or fivefold classification of the Prākṛit. Hoernle's only two varieties of Prākṛit, the Śaurasenī Prākṛit and the Māgadhī Prākṛit,<sup>1</sup> accepted by Grierson<sup>2</sup> also, has no foundation in facts. The principal Prākṛits have distinctive features of their own (see below), which preclude the possibility of a re-classification as suggested.

44. **Phonology of the Prākṛits:**—The vowels have generally remained the same, except ऋ and ॠ which are changed and ऐ and औ which, as in Pāli, became ए, ओ. There are as many consonants as in Sanskrit, but they have suffered various changes.

*a. Vowels:*—The Māhārāṣṭrī and others possess all the vowels, except the four mentioned above. We shall only note the changes which are often observable either in the quality or in the quantity of the vowels.

(a) **Changes<sup>3</sup> in quality:**—अ becomes इ. M. ईसि, वेडिसो, इंगालो Mar. इंगळ, णिडालं Mar. निडळ and मडिझिम from ईषत्, वेतस, अंगारः, ललाट, मध्यम.

अ becomes उ. M. खुडिअ Mar. खुड (-लेलें), गउओ, पुढम from खण्डित, गवय, प्रथम. In the last two examples the change compensates the loss of a semivowel.

अ becomes ए. M. सेज्जा Mar. शेज, सुन्देरं, अच्छेरं Coll. Mar. आच्छिर, उक्केरो Mar. उकिरडा, गेन्दुअ Mar. गेन्द from शय्या, सुन्दर, आश्वर्य उत्कर and कन्दुक.

अ becomes ओ. M. बोर Mar. बोर, मोर Mar. मोर, लोण Mar. लोण (जर्मीनीला लोण लागला), ओप्पइ Mar. ओपणें from बदर, मयूर

1. Gaudian Languages p. xviii.

2. Seven Grammars of the Bihārī language p. 5.

3. वररुचि, प्राकृतप्रकाश I and हेमचन्द्र I, 46, 47, 53, 54, 57.



लवण and अर्पयति. It is to be noted that the ओ in the first case compensates the loss of इ and in the last two cases of a semivowel.

आ becomes इ in some cases. M. तइ Mar. तें, जइ Mar. जें from तदा and यदा.

आ becomes ए. M. गेज्ज, मेत्त from ग्राह्य, मात्र.

आ becomes ओ. M. ओली Mar. ओळ from आलिः.

इ becomes अ. पहो, हलदा Mar. हळद from पथि, हरिद्रा.

इ becomes ए. M. गेड्डं, केरिसं, एरिसं from नीड, कीदृशं, ईदृशं.

उ becomes इ or ए. M. पुरिस, गेउरं, from पुरुष, नूपुरम्.

ऋ becomes अ, इ, उ, रि when initial and even रु. M. तण, वसह Mar. तण, वसो; M. दिट्ठी, विंछुओ, किवा, Mar. दिटी, विंचू, कीव; पाउसो माउसिआ, Mar. पाउस, माउशी; रिणं, रिच्छो, Mar. रीण, रीस; रुख Mar. रुख (in महारुख); from तृण, वृषभ, दृष्टि, वृश्चिक, कृपा, प्रावृष्, मातृष्वसा कृण, ऋक्ष, वृक्ष.

ए sometimes becomes इ. M. विअणा or वेअणा, Mar. वेणा from वेदना; दिअरो, Mar. दीर from देवरः.

ऐ invariably becomes ए. M. सेलो, तेलोकं, सेच्चं from शैल, त्रैलोक्यम् and शैत्यम्. But in certain cases it is split up as it were into its component parts; e. g. दइच्च Mar. दइत्य (in the speech of women etc.), चइत्तो vul. Mar. चइत, भइरव, सइर vul. Mar. सइरट, from दैत्य, चैत्र, भैरव, स्वैर. In सिंधवं the ऐ of सैंधव is weakened; which is perhaps due to the *anuswara* which affects the quantity. In the Mar. शेदिलेण the ए is regular. धीरं shows a weakening of ऐ in धैर्यम्.

औ in the same way becomes ओ. कोसंवी, जोडवण, H. जोवन from कौशाम्बी, यौवन. औ is also weakened to उ in कउरव, पउरिस from कौरव, पौरुष.

(b) *Change in quantity*:—The quantity of syllables in Prākrits is affected by the assimilation and loss of con-



juncts. Whenever a conjunct is simplified, and it is invariably the case in Prākṛits with the exception sometimes of the Māgadhī, the preceding vowel is lengthened in order to preserve the quantity. This rule is thus given by Hemacandra<sup>1</sup> in a limited form. 'The vowel preceding a य्, र्, व्, श्, ष् or स्, that is dropped is lengthened.'

*e. g.* M. कासवो, वीसामो Mar. विसांवा, वीसासो, पूसो Mar. पूस, from कश्यपः, विश्रामः, विश्वासः, पुष्यः.

Other examples are पाडिवाआ Mar. पाडवा, सारिच्छो Mar. सारिखा or सारखा, दाहिण, जीहा Mar. जीम, मरहट्ट, from प्रतिपत्, सदक्षः, दक्षिणः, जिह्वा, महाराष्ट्रः.

On the contrary, if the conjunct is retained, the preceding long vowel is shortened.<sup>2</sup>

*e. g.* M. अम्बं Mar. अम्बा, मुणिन्दो, चुण्णो. नरिन्दो, अहल्लं from आम्र, मुनीन्द्र, चूर्ण, नरेन्द्र, अधरोष्ठ.

Since an *anuswāra* gives to a syllable the quantity of a conjunct, it causes lengthening when it is dropped.

*e. g.* सीहो, वीसा Mar. वीस, तीसा Mar. तीस, from सिंह, विंशति, त्रिंशत्. The same is the case with the *visarga*; दूसहो from दुःसह.

Often however vowels are lengthened or shortened without any apparent cause.

*e. g.* पाणिअं, गहिरं Col. Mar. गहिरा, आणिअं Mar. आणि (-लेलें), सूहवो.

Sometimes ए and ओ represent an अय or अव. *e. g.* थेरो, तेरह for स्थविरः, त्रयोदश and ओगह, ओसप्पिणी, for अवग्रह, अवसर्पिणी.

Such an ओ is sometimes further weakened. *e. g.* उगह, from अवग्रह; उट्ट for ओट्ट from ओष्ठ. ओ often takes the place

1. I 43.

2. Hemcandra I 84.

of उ before conjuncts. e. g. तोण्ड Mar. तोण्ड from तुण्ड; Mar. सोण्ड from शुण्डा.

*N. B.*—Examples are chosen from M. only because there is a general agreement in this respect amongst the Prākritis.

(c) Vowels are often dropped in Prākritis without any cause. रण् from अरण्यम्, वि and पि from अपि not in the beginning of a sentence; व from इव also in combinations; ति or त्ति after a word, दार्णि from इदानीम्. This may perhaps be due to loss of accent. The Ardha Māgadhi shows words like दक from उदक, गार from अगार, हेष्ट from अधस्तात्, वक्रम् from अपक्रामति. The Māhārāṣṭrī too has रहट् from अरघट्, वअंस from अवतंस.

*b. The Consonants:*—Like inflections, these serve to show the difference between the several Prākritis clearly. The vowels are not of much use from that point of view.

Here the Māhārāṣṭrī, Ardhamāgadhi, and Śauraseni show a closer resemblance with one another, than the Māgadhi and Pāṣāchī. Māhārāṣṭrī, however, shows the consonants in a much more degenerate state than even the Ardhamāgadhi.

(a) Initial consonants generally remain unchanged except त् which in Śauraseni and Māgadhi becomes द्; e. g. दाव-तावत्, and द् which in Māhārāṣṭrī sometimes becomes ड् e. g. डह् Mar. डाह, डसइ Mar. डसतो; and क् which in almost a single case—perhaps borrowed—becomes च्. e. g. चिलओ-किरात्; or ख् in खुज्ज-कुज्ज, or ग् in गेन्दुअ-कन्दुक. प्, त्, न्, म् also are changed in some cases; e. g. फाडेइ-पाटयति, टगर-तगर, गअरं-नगरं, लिम्ब-निम्ब, ण्हाविअ Mar. न्हावी-नापित, वम्महो-मन्मथः which last is evidently a case of dissimilation. य् invariable becomes ज् in Māhārāṣṭrī, Ardhamāgadhi and Śauraseni. जत्थ-यत्त, जसो-यशः, जाव-यावद्, जहा-यथा, जोव्वण-यौवन, जुहुट्टिल-युधिष्ठिर.

(b) Medially the single consonants क्, ग्, च्, ज्, त्, ड्, प्, य्, and व् are generally dropped in most Prākritis. *e. g.* लोओ-लोकः, नयरं-नगरं, कयग्गाहो-कचग्रहः, गओ-गजः, रसायलं-रसातलं, मयणो-मदनः, रिऊ-रिपुः, विओओ-वियोगः. म् also follows them, but leaves its traces in an अनुनासिक; *e. g.* जँ उगा-यमुना. The व् that is seen to take the place of the dropped consonants is euphonic. Sometimes it is written, but sometimes not. This is what is called by Prākrit grammarians the यञ्चुति.<sup>1</sup>

1. But in some cases, instead of being dropped—some of these consonants are changed to those of other classes.

*e. g.* फलिह-स्फटिक, वेडिस-वेतस, पडिवनं-प्रतिपन्नम्, दोहर-दोहलः, कदम्ब-कळम्ब.

2. प् in many cases becomes व्; सावो-शापः, पाव-पाप; rarely म्, आमिलो-आपीडः probably through आवेलः.
3. द् becomes ड्; घडो-घटः, घडइ-घटति: sometimes also छ् as in फलिह and फालेइ from स्फटिक, पाटयति. ट् becomes ड् as in पीढ-पीठ; मढो-मठः. द् becomes छ् oftener than ट् and ट् appear to change; तलायं-तडागः. कीलइ-क्रीडति, दालिमं Mar. दालिम्व-दाडिमं.
4. The Paisācī differs from the other Prākritis in changing the mediae into tenues, *e. g.* मतन-मदन, नकरं-नगरं, किरि-गिरि, तामोतरः-दामोदरः.
5. The tenues aspirates and medial aspirates generally become ह् in all Prākritis. *e. g.* साहा-शाखा, मेहो-मेघः, नाहो, old Mar. नाहो-नायः, बहिरो, Mar. बहिरा-गधिरः, सहावो-स्वभावः. Exoeptions are few, like पुध्-पृथक्, केढवो-कैटभः.

ह् and झ remain the same, and फ् becomes भ् or ह्:—रेभो-रेफः, मुक्ताहलं-मुक्ताफलं, समरी and सहरी-शफरी.

In Paiśācī again, the medial aspirates become hard aspirates. मेखो-मेघः, काठं-गाढं, मथुरं-मधुरं, रफसः-रभसः, ताठा-दाढा-दंष्ट्रा.

6. Of nasals, the Māhārāṣṭrī, Śāurasenī, and Māgadhī show न्, ण्, rarely झ्. The Paiśācī has a single न् that serves the purpose of all the nasals. In M. initial न् optionally, and other न invariably, becomes ण्. In Amg. and others initial न् remains.

*e. g.* M. नअरं, णअरं, Amg. नयरं but नाणी, नाणं. Even in M. the न of the instr. sing. remains unchanged *e. g.* पुत्तेन. नयणं-नयनं, मदणो-मदनः. Amg. shows अनल, beside नाणं.

7. र remains the same in all dialects except Māgadhī where it must become ह्. Mg. हलिह्चालुदत्ते, पुल्लिह्, M. and Ś. and Amg. चारुदत्तो, पुरिसो, तारिसो, नयरं, रयणी. There are, however, cases where in the other dialects ह् appears for र; *e. g.* हलिह्, चलणो, वलुणो, इङ्गलो, जढलं from हरिद्रा, चरणः, वरुणः, अङ्गार, जठरं. In Māhārāṣṭrī, Ardhamāgadhī and Śāurasenī apparently, they are to be regarded as Māgadhisms.

ह् sometimes becomes ण्, न् in the dialects; नलाट or णटाल-ललाट, णंगल-लांगल. In किर it has become र्. In Paiśācī it has also become ह् according to grammarians. सीळं, कुळं.

8. The three sibilants become स् in all the dialects invariably, except a form of Māgadhī, which shows श् for these uniformly. पुरिस, यारिसे, सोहह, सेसे

for पुरुष, यादशः, शोभते, शेषः. But it appears that they are as often changed into a ह्; *e. g.* दह Mar. दहा-दश, पाहाण-पाषाण, सोण्हा Mar. सून-स्तुषा; धनुह-धनुष, तण्हा-तृष्णा, दिअह-दिवस, हत्तारि-सप्तति. ष sometimes becomes छ. *e. g.* छट्ठो-षष्ठः, छम्मुहो-षम्मुखः. Cf. छप्पय, सोसयन्त, सेह, सोम in Kappasutta<sup>1</sup> for षट्पद, शोषयन्त, शैक्ष, सौम्य.

9. Conjunct consonants are either assimilated, or simplified, in which case the preceding vowel is generally lengthened, or lastly split up by an intervening vowel.

(a) Very often the first member of a conjunct is assimilated with the following one; *e. g.* सक्-सक्त, मुक्-मुक्त, थंभ-स्तंभ, रत्त and also रग्ग from रक्क; the semivowels व्, र् always assimilate with the other member; *e. g.* चक्कं, वक्कलं from चक्रं, वल्कलं; but उव्विग्ग, उद्विग्गः.

(b) य् and व् often change to च् and assimilate the first member to themselves; पच्चूष-प्रत्यूष, चच्चर-चत्वर, शेज्जा-शय्या, वेज्जो-वैद्यः and कज्जम्-कार्यं, मज्झ-मध्य, ज्झाणं-ध्यानं. The Māgadhi retains य् in these cases. *e. g.* विद्याहले, अय्य, सुय्य from विद्याधरः, अद्य, सूर्यः.

(c) Nasals forming second member are assimilated with the preceding consonant, *e. g.* उव्विग्ग-उद्विग्ग अग्गि-अग्निः, जुग्ग-युग्म. य् is assimilated with the preceding nasal:—रण्ण-अरण्य; अन्न-अन्य, किलम्मइ-क्लाम्यति. Māgadhi and Pāṣāci, however, have ज्ज in these cases; *e. g.* अज्ज, पुज्ज, अहिमज्ज. त्य gives ढ्; कळ-कल्यम्.

1. Ed. Jacobi 1878,



- (d) *र* with dental gives a double lingual; कवड् Mar. कवडी-कपदं, गड्डह-गर्दभ, तुड्ड-तुटति.
- (e) *क्व* and *घ्व* give *ख*, निख्वमदि-निष्कामति, चउख्व Mar. चौक-चतुष्क; *ष्ट* and *ष्ठ* become *ड*, e. g. अड्ड-अष्ट, द्विट्टि-द्वष्टि. In Māg. the combination *स्त* is found for *ष्ट* and *ष्ठ*, e. g. चिस्त, भस्तालिका. *स्त* remains in Mag. but becomes *त्थ* in other dialects; हस्त and हत्थ from हस्त. स्ना gives ण्हा in all dialects. *क्ष* is represented either by *ख्व* or *च्छ*; उच्छ, and इख्व; सारिच्छ and सारिख्व. For fuller treatment of conjuncts, see Pischel.<sup>1</sup>

- (f) Conjuncts are often split up into two syllables by means of a vowel. This is more usually found in the Ardhamāgadhī.

e. g. उसिन-उण्ण, कसिन-कृण्ण, सिनान-स्नान in Amg. where other dialects, say the Māhārāṣṭrī, show उण्ह, कण्ह, ण्हाण. The Pāṣācī also shows anaptyxis in words like भारिया, सिनानं, कसटं from भार्या, स्नानं and कष्टम्. Grierson<sup>2</sup> is perhaps right when he regards such words as clear Sanskritisms, made easy for pronunciation by the addition of a vowel.

The Māhārāṣṭrī and other dialects too show स्वरभक्ति, as in किलम्मइ, *Ṣ* किलम्मदि-काम्यति; *M* and *Ṣ* मिलाण-म्लान; *M. Ṣ.* वरिस beside वास-वर्ष.

- (g) Examples of simplification with compensatory lengthening are:—वीसामो-विश्रामः, नीसासो-निःश्वासः; वीसत्थो-विश्वस्तः, सीस-शिष्य, सीह-सिंह; ऊससिय-उच्छसित.

1. Grammatik p. 185 ff.

2. Pāṣāca, Pāṣācī, and the modern Pāṣācas, in Z D. M. G. for 1912.

- (h) Consonants at the end of words are generally dropped in all dialects: जाव, दाव-यावत्, तावत्; पच्छा-पश्चात्; अभू-अभूत्; अकासी-अकार्षीत्. The *स्* of the nom. sing. becomes ओ, except in Māgadhi and Ardhamāgadhi where only it becomes ए. In Apbh. it is further weakened into उ. पुत्तो, Pai. मेखो, Apbh पुत्तु. *स्* in compounds becomes अ as in जसवन्म-यशोवर्मन्; sometimes it becomes ओ as in Mg. शिलोलुह.

There are, besides, what Pischel calls Samdhi consonants in the Prākritis. *e. g.* म् as in Amg. अन्नमन्नम् or अणमण्यम्-अन्योन्यम्; M. एकमेक, Mar. एकमेक Amg. एगमेक-एकैक. This म् is found in other cases also; गोणमाई-गवादि, हयमाई-हयादि; एसमाघाओ-एष अघातः. Cases like दुयाहेण, तियाहेण, चउयाहेण, where Pischel<sup>1</sup> finds the सन्धि consonant य्, are perhaps better explained in this way. In दुयाहेण य् is regular, as it is to be explained as due to स्वरभक्ति from व्यहेन; in the same manner, the य् in तियाहेण is easily explained. In चउयाहेण however it is to be explained as due to analogy of the former two cases. The य् in these came to be looked upon as belonging to the form and was therefore added where it was not wanted regularly. दुयङ्गुल, सुयख्खाय from व्यङ्गुल, स्वाख्यात are to be explained in the same manner. Amg. अणुरागयम् from अन्वागतम् is explained by Pischel as formed on the analogy of वायुरिव,<sup>2</sup> सिहोरिव, where र् is due to the nom. ending of the first member. But there is really hardly any analogy between these noun cases and the adverb अनु. Besides: this is not the way analogy works. For two forms to affect each other, they must belong to the same grammatical category. The analogy for अणुरागयं is therefore to be looked for elsewhere; and it is supplied by the word

1. Grammatik p. 240.

2. Pischel. O. C. p. 240.

पुनरवि<sup>1</sup>; पुनः generally becomes पुण, but in combinations retains its र्. This organic nature of the र् was forgotten and it was looked upon as a सन्धि consonant. Hence the र् in अणुरागयं. The form Amg. दुरङ्गुल again is to be explained as influenced by forms like चउरासीहम्,<sup>2</sup> चउरन्त where र् is regular.

45. Inflection:—In declension and conjugation the Prākṛits agree in a general way, when due allowance is made for phonetic changes. There is no consonantal declension, there is no perfect and conjunctive, and the preterite, which has lost the augment, shows the same set of terminations इत्था and इंसु for all the three persons; a few forms in अम् and सी (सीत्) are to be looked upon either as stray remnants of the old conjugation or as influenced by Sanskrit, which, as we have seen, has always exercised a potent and often disturbing influence over the Pāli and inscriptional languages. The same is the case with respect to the Prākṛits.

a. Declension:—As remarked above, the consonantal class has disappeared from the Prākṛits, as they, like the Pāli, suffer no consonant at the end of a word. A few stray forms of the consonantal class are to be regarded as old remnants; *e. g.* M. विअआ-विपदा; Amg. धम्मविओ-धर्मविद्, तेओ-तेजस्, मनसा, वयसा-मनसा, वचसा; सरओ-शरद्.

The distinction in gender is often not kept up; the tendency to decline neuters like masculines appears to grow. Even in Sk. the neuters agreed with the masculines in all but the first two cases. The Prākṛits have equalised even there, तुङ्गो मणो-तुङ्गं मनः, तवो कओ-तपः कृतम्, Amg. तमे-तमः, मणे-मणः

1. Kappasutta, Ed. Jacobi, p. 160.

2. Kappasutta, p. 72.

These are cases of neuters in अस्. Neuters in अ also show the same tendency; the way was shown by the nom. plu. which in Prākrits, like the Veda, often end in आ and thus were not distinguishable from masc. forms. This was carried further and even singular forms were made after the masc. *e. g.* Amg. जीविण-जीवितम्, कम्म-कर्म, वीरिण-वीर्यम्; Ś पवहणो-प्रवहनम्. This tendency is seen prevalent in the Amg., less so in the Mg. and rare in the other dialects.<sup>1</sup> अन् neuters have been turned into अ masculines according to the grammarians *e. g.* जम्मो, कम्मो, वम्मो etc. Vararuci lays<sup>2</sup> down a rule that nouns in अन्, अस् and the words प्रावृष and शरद् are to be regarded as masculines. Hemacandra agrees with him; *e. g.* पाउसो, सरदो, but सिरं, णहं which apparently are exceptions. The pronouns also are affected and अयम् serves for masc. fem. and neut. अयं दही-इंद दधि, cf. अयं धम्मलिपी of the inscriptions. The Apbh. according to Hemacandra,<sup>3</sup> observes no distinction in genders; लिङ्गमतन्त्रम् IV 445-the gender does not count, *e. g.* अब्भा-अभ्राणि, अन्त्रडी-अन्त्राणि. This, however, may be ascribed to metre.

There is no dual in the Prākrits. दो and वे are the only duals preserved.

Following are the terminations<sup>4</sup> for all classes, *i. e.* अ, इ, उ etc.

	Sing.	Pl.
N.	ओ, ए, निल	आ, ओ (for इ and उ)
A.	म्	ए, णो (for इ and उ)
I.	(ए) ण or णं, णा (for इ and उ)	हिं

1. Pischel. O. C. p. 243.

2. प्राकृतप्रकाश, IV 18 Ed. Cowell p. 34.

3. O. C. I 31, 32.

4. वररुचि, प्रा० प्र. V. Cowell p. 39 ff.

Abl.	आ, दो, दु, हि	हिंतो, सुंतो
Gen.	स्स, णो (for इ and उ)	(आ) ण

There is no real dative in the Prākritis.

Neuters of all stems have म् for nom. acc. sing. *e. g.* वणं, दहिं, महं.

The few नृ stems agree generally with their Sk. counterparts, except in some cases like जामाअरेण, भाअरेण. The stem राजन् has preserved some old forms like राआणो, राइणो or रण्णो, रण्णा. There are besides a few more examples of the consonantal declension. *e. g.* अप्पा, अप्पाणो : आत्मा, आत्मानः ; जुवा and जुवाणो : युवा, युवानः.

### Examples of Prākrit declension

#### I The अ class.

	Masc. Singular.	Plural.
N.	पुत्तो, पुत्ते Amg. Mg., पुत्तु Aph.	पुत्ता all dialects ; पुत्ताओ Amg.
A.	पुत्तम्	पुत्ते ; पुत्ता M. Amg. only.
I.	पुत्तेण, पुत्तेणं (Ś. Mg. and P. पुत्तेण only).	पुत्तेहि all, पुत्तेहि M., Amg.
Abl.	पुत्ता all dialects ; पुत्ता, पुत्ताउ, पुत्ता all except Ś. ; पुत्ताहि, पुत्ताहितो M. only ; पुत्तादो Ś. Mg. only. Aph. has पुत्तहे, पुत्तहु ; P. पुत्तातो.	पुत्तासुंतो, पुत्ताहुंतो etc. Amg. also पुत्तेहि ; Aph. पुत्तहु.
G.	पुत्तस्स all dialects ; Mg. पुत्तस्सा, पुत्ताह ; Aph. पुत्तस्सु, पुत्तहो, पुत्तह ;	पुत्ताणं all. पुत्ताण all except Ś. Mg. पुत्ताह Aph.



- L. पुत्ते all dialects ; पुत्तम्मि पुत्तेसुं all, पुत्तेसु except Š, Mg.  
 M. and Š. पुत्तंसि, पुत्तम्मि पुत्तही Adbh.  
 Amg. पुत्तहिं Mg.  
 पुत्ति, पुत्तही Adbh.

It will be easily observed that loc. sing in म्मि, and अंमि is borrowed from pronouns, as also the acc. pl. in ए. The instr. pl. एहिं, एहि is traceable to Vedic एभिः. The abl. pl. has a composite ending ; it is made up of the instr. (एहि + तस् the abl. suffix ; सुन्तो also is traceable to the loc. सुं + तः. This shows that the three cases really are interdependent, as their functions are very similar.

## II. Feminines in आ

	Sing.	Plu.
N.	माला	मालाओ, मालाउ except Š. Mg.
A.	मालम्	Do.
I.	मालाए, M. has also मालाइ, मालाअ	मालाहिं, मालाहि except Š. Mg.
Abl.	मालाओ, मालाउ M. Amg. मालादो Š. Mg.	मालाहितो, मालाहु Adbh.
G. & D.	मालाए, M. also मालाइ, मालाअ A. मालाहे	मालाणं, मालाण except Š. Mg.
L.	The same as Gen.	मालासु, मालासुं.

## III. Stems in इ.

	Sing.	Plu.
N.	अग्गी	अग्गिणो, अग्गी, अग्गीओ.
A.	अग्गिम्	Do.
I.	अग्गिणा	अग्गीहिं, अग्गीहि except Š. Mg.
Abl.	अग्गिणो, अग्गीहितो, अग्गीओ. Š. Mg. अग्गी.	अग्गीहितो, अग्गीहुं Adbh.
G.	अग्गिणो, अग्गिस् except Š. Mg.	अग्गीणम्, अग्गीण except Š. Mg.
L.	अग्गिम्मि ; अग्गिसि, Adbh. अग्गीही.	अग्गीसु, अग्गीसुं.

IV. Stems in उ.<sup>1</sup>

	Sing	Pl.
N.	वाऊ	वाउणो, वाअओ, (वाऊ, वाउओ also)
A.	वाउम्	वाउणो, वाऊ
I.	वाउणा	वाउहिं, वाउहि except Ś and Mg.
Abl.	वाउओ, वाऊउ etc.	वाउहिं, also वाउहिन्तो-सुन्तो
G.	वाउणो, वाउस्स	वाऊणम्, वाऊण except Ś and Mg.
L.	वाऊसु, वाऊसुं	वाउम्मि, वाउंसि.

The following forms of feminine bases in इ and उ should be noted:—बुद्धीओ, धेणूओ nom. pl., बुद्धी, धेणू nom. sing. and acc. pl., बुद्धिं, धेणुं acc. sing., बुद्धीहिं, धेणूहिं instr. pl., बुद्धीअ, धेणूअ gen. sing., बुद्धीअ, धेणूअ instr. sing., बुद्धीअ, बुद्धीआ, बुद्धीइ, बुद्धीए are forms of instr. abl. gen. and loc. Hemcandra III 29. There are corresponding forms of feminine उ bases like धेणूअ, धेणूआ, धेणूइ, धेणूए.

But this great class has been sacrificed to the peculiar phonology of the Prākritis, which leans towards lengthening a short final. In literature, the Karpūramanjari for example shows the following forms :—

दिट्ठि I 18, दिट्ठी I 28, विट्ठरभूमिं I 34, मज्जरीओ III 13, मुट्ठीअ I 30 instr. sing., रइं IV 9, रुच्चिस्स III 14, रीईओ I 1 nom. pl., रीदीणं I 20, केदईलट्ठीए II 6 gen. sing.; दिट्ठया the regular inst. sing. of दिट्ठि has become an indeclinable.

V. Stems in ऋ are rare, as the Prākritis have changed it, but there are some few forms still left of this declension.

1. Vararuci, V 14-18, Hemcandra III 16-26, Pischel O. C. 262-63.

	Sing.	Pl.
N.	भत्ता Km. II 8, ऽ भट्टा	भत्तारो, also भत्तू, भत्तुणो <sup>1</sup>
A.	भत्तारं, Mg. भस्टालम्	भत्तारे
I.	भत्तुणा, भत्तारेण	भत्तारेहिं, भत्तूहिं
G.	भत्तुणो Km. I 11, भत्तारस्स	...
L.	भत्तारे	भत्तारेसु, भत्तूसु.

But forms like मादाए gen. sing. Km. I 20 show the way this declension has gone. Hemacandra<sup>2</sup> gives माआ, माअरा; माअं, माअरं; माआए, माअराण or माईण as nom., acc., gen. forms of मातृ. In the same way पितृ has double forms, one set from an उ base as पिउणो, पिउणा, पिऊहिं, पिऊसु, and another set from the ऋ base as पिअरं, पिअरेण, पिअरेहिं.

गो and नौ follow closely their declension in Sanskrit, as गाओ, गोहिं, गवं from गावः, गोभिः, गवां show. नौ has नावाए instr., नावाओ abl. which do not follow the Sk. declension.

VI. Stems in त् or अन्त् and न् or अन्, मन्, वन् are preserved to a certain extent. But here too the tendency is to turn them into the अ class, by adding that vowel to the final or dropping it

	Sing.	pl.
N.	राजा	राआणो, also राआ
A.	राजानं, but also रायं	राआणो, also राए, राआ
I.	रण्णा, राइणा, but also राएण	राआहिं, राएहिं
Abl.	रण्णो, राइणो, but also राआदो, राआहिन्तो	रायाउ, रायाहिन्तो
G.	रण्णो, राइणो, also रायस्स, Pai. राचिनो	राईणम्, राआणम्
L.	राइम्मि, राअम्मि, राए	राईसुम् etc. (i. e. no form from consonantal base).

1. हेमचन्द्र III 44.

2. II 46.

For आत्मा, ब्रह्मन्, युवन् and other consonantal stems, see Hemacandra III 56, Pischel, Grammatik p. 281 ff. Stray forms like मघोना side by side with मघवं show how hard this class struggled before dying; the Sanskrit always supported such stray strugglers.

Feminine consonantal forms have merged into the आ class. दिश् therefore becomes दिसा. पडिविआ, वाचा, धुरा are other examples. विद्युत् becomes विज्जू and follows the ऊ declension which is quite regular.

(b) Adjectives follow nouns in declension. They have two grades of comparsion as in Sk., formed by the suffixes तर, तम, ईयस्, इष्ट with due phonetic changes.

M.	उज्जलअर	Amg.	पिययम, ढँ पिअदम
Amg.	ददयर		
ढँ.	भूओ-भूयस्	ढँ.	भूइठ
	पेज्ज-प्रेयस्		जेठ

(c) The Prākrits have pronouns like the Pāli, with which they agree in declension.

First person अहम्, Mag. हगे; मम्, ममम्, मे; मए, मइ; ममाओ, माहिन्तो; मम, मह, मज्झ, मज्झम्, A. महु; मइ, ममम्मि are the several cases in the singular; and अम्हे, Mg. हगे also अम्हे, अम्ह, णो, णे; अम्हेहिं; अम्हतो, अम्हेहिंतो; अम्हाणं, अम्हम्, अम्ह or म्ह, also णो, णे; अम्हेसु, अम्हासु in the plural.

It must be noted that Hemacandra<sup>2</sup> gives several alternative forms for each case of this pronoun. Probably they were dialectic variations; no other explanation is possible. This also suggests that the literary Māhārāṣṭrī and other Prākrits were really based upon spoken dia-

1. वररुचि IV. 7. स्त्रियामात्.

2. O. C III 105 ff.

lects and not 'artificial' languages. There is no reason to doubt either the veracity or the ability of Hemacandra, simply because in the Prākṛit literature that is so far available, these forms can not be satisfactorily traced.<sup>1</sup>

हृगे of the Māgadhī must go back upon अहकम्, with the dropping of the initial and softening of the surd. This is seen in the modern vernaculars in forms like H. हम्, or Konkanī Marāṭhī हांव. In ममं, ममाओ, ममाहि, ममस्स the Sk. genitive is taken as the secondary base.

Second person:—तुमम्, तुम्, Apbh. तुहु; तुमम्, ते; तए, तइ, तुए तुमए; तत्तो, तुमाहि, तुमाहिंतो; तव, तुज्ज, तुह, तुम्म etc; तइ, तुमम्मि, तुमे. See besides the alternative forms in Hemacandra<sup>2</sup>.

It is clear that there are two bases underlying these forms, the Sk. त्वम् which with proper phonetic change becomes तुम्-तु, and तुम. The one gives तुम्, तुए, तत्तो etc, and the latter तुमम्, तुमए, तुमाहि etc. तुम is also the base of the plural forms of this pronoun in Marāṭhī; तुम्ही and तुमचा etc. The same remark holds good with regard to the pronoun of the first person.

Plural :—तुम्हे, तुम्मे, Apbh. तुम्हइ which gives तुम्ही in Marāṭhī; all these and वो; तुम्हेहिं, तुम्मेहिं, also भे; तुम्हत्तो, तुम्हत्तो, तुम्हत्तो etc; तुम्हाणं, तुम्हम्, तुम्ह etc; तुम्हेसु, तुम्हेसु, etc.

Third person:—सो and से are the only forms of the base for this person. For the other cases and even for the plural of the nom., forms of the demonstrative base त- are used.

ते; तेण, तेणं, f. ताए, तीए; ताओ, तत्तो, तदो; तम्हा; तस्स, तइश, तह, f. तिस्स, तीए, ताए; तम्मि, तंसि, ताइशिम. तत्थ and तहिं are used as adverbs of place, but they are loc. of the same base.

1. See Pischel O. C. p. 293 on this point.

2. O. C. III 90 to 104.



Then there are the इदम्, एतत् bases, the relative pronoun यत् and the interrogative किम्, which give forms like इमो, इमे; इमं, इमे; इमेण; इमस्स; इमास्सि; एहि, एसु and f. आहि, आसु. किम् gives को, के; कं, के; केण; कओ, कम्हा, कदो; कस्स, etc. for which see Hemacandra III 63 to 85.

(d) The Prākṛit numerals are एक, cf. Mar. एका; दो, दुवे, वे, दोणि; तओ, तिणि; चत्तारो, चदस्सो, चत्तारि; पच्च, छ, सत्त, अट्ठ and अट्ठ also, नव, दस-दह-दश. They are inflected in the regular manner.

The numbers from eleven upwards are also formed like Sanskrit:—एकारस or इकारस Amg., एआरह M., एकातस Pai; Amg. बारस, M. बारह from which Mar. बारा; Amg. तेरस, M. तेरह; चोद्दह, चउद्दस, चउद्दह, cf. Mar. चौदा; पण्णरस, पण्णरह Apbh. cf. Mar. पन्धरा where ध is euphonic; सोळस, सोळह; सत्तरस, सत्तरह; अट्ठारस, अट्ठारह, H. अट्ठारा, Mar. आठरा. Nineteen is Amg. एगूणवीसम्, Apbh. एगूणविंसा; cf. Mar. एकूणीस or एकोणीस. Amg. has also अऊणवीसई or वीसम्. The further nines are formed in the same way. वीसई or वीसं, तीसई or तीसम् (cf. तेत्तीसम्, Mar. तेत्तीस), चत्तालीसम् or सा, चायालीसम् which is the previous step to the contraction चालीस in Jain Māhārāṣṭri.<sup>1</sup> All the dialects contract it still further when a number like two, three is prefixed to it. e. g. Amg. बायालीसम्, तेयालीसम् etc. चाली is another contracted form of the same word; we find this when children repeat their multiplication tables, like एकेचाळ, बेचाळ. पण्णासम्, पण्णासा or पन्ना, in the further numbers पण्णम् or वण्णम्, cf. Mar. वावन, त्रेपन etc. सट्ठि, सट्ठी—short in compounds, सत्तरिम् or सत्तारि, cf. वावत्तरि for seventy-two, असीइम् or असीइ, cf. चोरासी for eighty-four, णउई, णउई cf. Mar. पच्चाण्णव. Word for hundred is M. सअ cf. Mar. शे, Amg. सय, Š. Mg. सद; for thousand is सहस्स. The हजार of the vernaculars is a loan-word from the Iranian branch.

1. Jacobi, Erzählungen, p. 10.

b. Conjugation:— The Prākṛits have lost more here than in declension. The tendency of removing consonants from ends of words by adding अ observed in declension, has also disturbed the whole conjugational system, making it easier and more uniform. The *atmanepada* is entirely lost, some dialects showing stray participles in that *pada*. There is naturally no dual. Of moods, the subjunctive is entirely given up; of tenses the conditional, the imperfect, with the exception of the rare आसि or आसी = आसीत्, the perfect are given up. There is a tendency to substitute in their place what Bhandarkar<sup>1</sup> calls the nominal construction, i.e. use of participles with the verbum substantivum.

For personal terminations, see Hemacandra III 139 147. He gives some *atmanepada* terminations like से, न्ते, इरे, but as said above, they are rarely used in literature.

मि or म्हि, मो or म्ह, म्हो, for the first person; सि, हि से, त्या, थ, ध, and ह for the second, and इ, ए, दि, न्ति, न्ते, इरे for the third, according to Hemacandra. अस्थि from अस्ति is used for all persons and numbers.

I. Conjugation of stem वट्, Sk. वृत् in the present.

Aphb. has:—

वट्टामि	वट्टामो	वट्टुं	वट्टुं
वट्टसि	वट्टह, वट्टध Ś., Mg. — वट्टथ Pais̃.	वट्टसि-हि	वट्टहु
वट्टह, वट्टदि Mg., Ś. वट्टति Pais̃.	वट्टन्ति	वट्टह	वट्टहि

The *atmanepada* forms 'would be:—वट्टे. वट्टसे, वट्टए or वट्टदे, and वट्टन्ते, others wanting.

1. Phil. Lectures p. 21-22,

Stray atm. forms are found in literature; *e. g.* जाणे, मन्ने लहे, सोहसे, मण्णदे, लपते, बीहन्ते. For more examples see Pischel.<sup>1</sup> As in the Veda and Pāli, forms in इरे are also found *e. g.* पुष्पिरे, हसिरे.

II. The same stem in the optative. Cf. Hemacandra

III. 177, 178.

वट्टेज्जा, वट्टेज्ज, वट्टेज्जामि

वट्टेज्जाम

(वट्टेज्जा, हस्सेज्जा in Hc.)

वट्टेज्जासि, वट्टेज्जाहि, -ज्जसि and -ज्जहि also वट्टेज्जाह or ज्जह

वट्टेज्जा, वट्टेज्ज

वट्टेज्जा-वट्टेज्ज.

It will be seen that the forms for the first sing. and third sing. and plu. are the same. There are also the forms Ś. वट्टेअम्, वट्टे first sing., Amg. वट्टे, Apbh. वट्टि second sing. and Amg. Ś. Mg. वट्टे third sing. and pl. For forms in literature, mostly Jain, see Pischel, Grammatik p. 326 to 330.

This mood is, according to Pischel, very frequent in the Ardhamāgadhī and Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī; not so frequent in the Māhārāṣṭrī and very rare in the other dialects.

III. Imperative forms of the same stem. cf Hc. III 173-176.

हसामु, पेच्छामु in Hc.

{ वट्टामो, also वट्टम् in dialects except Amg.

{ हसामो, हसाम, हसेम in Hc.

वट्ट, वट्टसु, वट्टेसु

{ वट्टह, वट्टध, Ś. Mg., वट्टहु-ट्टेहु  
{ Apbh., वट्टथ Pais.

{ हसह, हसत in Hc.

वट्टेहि; also वट्टाहि Amg.

Apbh. वट्ट, वट्टहि,

हससु, पेच्छसु Hc.

वट्टउ, Ś. Mg. वट्टदु

वट्टन्तु, तुवरन्तु-हसन्तु in Hc.

हसउ, पेच्छउ in Hc.

हसामु, पेच्छामु follow the analogy of वदसु, which itself is to be traced to the स्व of the second pers. atm. of Sanskrit. उ and दु of the third person are to be similarly explained. The plural of the first person has borrowed its ending from the present; the ह्य, however, although not given by Hemacandra but found in literature, appears to be the true imperative ending.

IV. The S—aorist, which is the only aorist in the Prākritis, shows the same forms for the first and third persons. The strong aorist is given up, with the exception of some very rare forms. The augment is mostly dropped.

अकासि,—Sk. अकार्षम्

वुच्छामु—Sk. अवात्सम्

कासि and वयासि—Sk. आवादीः

अकासि, काहेसी, पचारी

भुवि, अहोसि, अत्रेसि—Sk. अज्ञासीत् }

पुच्छिसुं, करिसुं—Sk. अकार्षुः

Amg. समुप्पज्झित्था

But a keen sense of distinction between the forms was already lost and the same form served for the first and third persons, or even for the singular and plural; e.g. करिसु (वाहम्) for first pers. sing. The form वयासी is also used for third singular.<sup>1</sup> The Amg. invariably shows त्था for third person singular.

V. The future is formed by adding इस्स or इह to the root before adding the terminations.

हसिस्सम्, हसिस्सामि

करिस्सामो, होहिमो, होस्सामो from भू,

हसीहिमि, होहिमि from भू,

लभिस्सामो

एस्सामि from इ

भविस्सशि, मलीहिशि Mg.

गच्छिहिह, होहित्था from भू, नइस्सध

भविस्ससि

Km. I 33, विसुमारिस्सध Śāk IV

भविस्सदि, गच्छिस्सदि

हसिस्सन्ति, हसिहिइरे,

पराजिणिस्सइ Amg., होहिइ

भविस्सन्ति, एस्सन्ति.

from भू Km. II 39

1 Pischel, Grammatik p. 360.

VI. The passive is formed by adding इज्ज, Ś. Mg. ईअ to the root. गिण्हुविज्जन्ति, Ś. गिण्हुवीअदि from हु, णज्जइ from ज्ञा, रुव्वइ, रुव्वसु, रुविज्जइ from रु, पुणिज्जे from पू, सुमारिज्जइ from स्मृ, रम्मइ, रमिज्जइ from रम्, रोदिअदि from रुद, वुच्चइ for वच्.

For details see Pischel, Grammatik 370-376.

VII. There are causatives, desideratives, intensives and denominatives as in Sanskrit and Pāli.

(a) Causal is formed by adding ए-Sk. अच्, वे-Sk. पच्, Ap. अ, व to the strong base of the root.

कारेइ-कारयति, पाढेइ-पाठयति, ठावेइ-स्थापयति, दावेइ col. Mar. दावतो-दर्शयति, हसावेइ-हासयति, जीवावेदु-जीवयतु, मोआवेमि-मोचयामि, Abph. पाडइ-पातयति, उद्दालइ-उद्दालयति, घडावइ-घटयति.

(b) Desiderative is exactly formed on the Skt. model. जुगुच्छइ-जुगुप्सते, Ś वुमुखिद-वुमुक्षित, Amg. सुस्सूसइ-शुश्रूषते.

(c) Intensive is formed as in Skt.

चक्कम्मइ-चाक्रम्यते. लालण्णइ, ढण्ढोलइ, चंक्कम्मिअ.

(d) The most common denominative is formed by adding अ to nouns immediately. जम्मइ-जन्मति; दुःखामि, सुखामि from दुःख and सुख; or to the stem with an आ. चिलाअदि-चिरायते, सुहाअदि-सुहायति. कुरुकुराअसि, खलखलाअसि.

VIII. There are participles of as many kinds as in Sanskrit, and infinitives and gerunds in the Prākrīts.

(a) The present participle ends in अन्त and माण—the latter more frequent than the former in the Jaina literature. The passive participle of the present shows the termination मीण.

सन्त and असन्त; fem. असन्ती, but असती also. गच्छन्त, हुवन्त, समाणी—often in Kappasutta from अस्, ओहीर-माणी, एज्जमाण from इ. आगममीण, निकाममीण—निष्कम्यमाण.



- (b) The past participle ends in त or न, Ś. and Mg. of course द and न. The suffix is added either directly or after इ.

वुत्थ, पवुत्थ, also उसिअ from वस्, Ś. उववसिद, तुट्ठ from वुट्ठ, गहिअ and गहिय, Ś. गहिद from गृह्, जणिद-जात, अस-हिअ-असोढ, वीसरिअ, वीसरिद, विमुमरिद-विस्मृत.

The suffix न is more common than in Sanskrit: खण्ण, उख्खाणिद from खन्, दिण्ण from दा; रुण्ण, ओरुण्ण from रुद्. This न or त assimilates itself with the preceding consonant. उम्मिह्ण from मील्, मुक्क from मुच्, रग्ग from रज्ज्, सिक्क from सिच्. खुडिअ-धुण्ण छइअ-छन्न do not show न as in Sk. There appear to be active past participles as in Sk. but Pischel<sup>1</sup> does not seem to recognise them. पुट्ठवं-स्पृष्टवान्, भणिदवन्तो, किदवन्तो etc. he says, appear in late writers and uncritical editions.

- (c) Potential participles are formed by adding तव्व or अणिज्ज, अणीय to the stem.

हसिअव्व, होयव्व, Ś. Mg. होदव्व; अणुचिद्धिदव्व, पुच्छिदव्व, सअ-णिज्ज-शयणीय, दंसणिज्ज, Ś. रक्खणीअ, कज्ज and कय्य-कार्य.

- (d) There is only one infinitive in Prākritis, that in उम् or दुम् as the dialect belongs to Māhārāṣṭrī, Jina Māhārāṣṭrī, Ardhamāgadhī or to Māgadhī, Śaursenī group.

पुच्छिउम्, पुच्छिदुम् from प्रच्छ; धारिउम्, धारिदुम् from धृ; चिद्धिदुम्, थादुम्, उद्धिउम्, गच्छिदुम् or गमिदुम् show that the suffix is added to the root directly or to the present stem. The Amg. has a peculiar form of the

infinitive in तए, which is more frequent than that in उम्. This तए evidently goes back upon Vedic तवे, or तवै, more likely the latter. भोक्तए, वत्थए-भोक्तवे, वस्तवे. The double त is, according to Pischel,<sup>1</sup> probably due to accent, which तवै bears *e. g.* Pāṇini अन्तश्च तवै युगपत्. VI 1,200. इत्तए Kapp.<sup>2</sup> therefore goes back upon एतवै, पायवे-पातवै etc. पुच्छित्तए, सइत्तए, एसित्तए are other forms. The Apbh. has peculiar inf. endings in अण, एव, एप्पि, एप्पिण् etc. according to grammarians. एच्छण-एष्टुं, करण-कर्तुम्. This is evidently a noun in अन used infinitively. The Mar. infinitive must go back upon this. A form in एवम् *e. g.* देवम्-दातुं probably leads to Guj. देवुं, करवुं. According to Pischel this is due to— वने in दावने etc.

- (e) The absolutive suffix is त्ता, ता after nasals, added either to the root direct or to the present stem in the Amg.

वन्दित्ता, वसित्ता, गन्ता, as also अणुगच्छित्ता, भवित्ता, जिगित्ता, पासित्ता from पश्, चत्ता-त्यक्त्वा.

Besides this, the Amg. has an absolutive in त्ताणम्, Vedic त्वानम्; पासित्ताणम्, चिद्वित्ताणम्. Forms in तूण, ऊण, दूण are seen in Amg. in verses. These, however, are more regular in Māhārāṣṭrī, Jain M. and Pāṣāṇī जेऊण, जिणिऊण from जि, पाऊण from पा, लदूण from लभ्, मोच्छूण from मुच्, भेच्छूण from भिद्, काऊण from कृ, गहिऊण, घेच्छूण from गृह्.

The तूण, दूण, ऊण forms are to be traced to the pre-

1. Grammatik p. 392.

2. Ed. Jacobi p. 89

Pāṇinian<sup>1</sup> त्वानम्, त्वीनम्; compare लङ्ग with लङ्घान.  
A च्चा, च्चाणं also is found in Aṃg. Hemcandra<sup>2</sup> traces it to त्वा; *e. g.* भोच्चा from भुक्त्वा, णच्चा from ज्ञात्वा. विज्जं from विद्वान् supports his derivation. It could not be traced to त्या, which is only a metrically lengthened form of the alternative suffix त्य.

होच्चा-भूत्वा, अपिच्चा-अपीत्वा, किच्चा-कृत्वा, सोच्चा-श्रुत्वा, च्च-दत्वा etc.

The Apbh. forms in प्पि, प्पिण् are to be traced to Vedic forms in त्वी and त्वीनम्. जेप्पि from जि, देप्पिण् from द्य, दख्खिवि from दृश्. These are also used as infinitives. Absolutives in इअ, उअ are rare. Ś shows गदुअ, M. पडिअ, पेखिअ. उअ goes back upon त्वा and इअ upon य, त्य. निख्खमिअ-निष्क्रम्य, ओदरिअ-आवतीर्य, आरुहिअ-आरुह्य.

46. *Desi Words*:—The Prākṛit vocabulary mostly contains words that have phonetically developed from the Sanskrit. These are called by grammarians the तद्भव words. There are besides many borrowed words which are called तत्सम s. The तत्सम have a tendency to increase in proportion to the influence of Sanskrit on any language. The modern vernaculars, especially on their literary side, are greatly influenced by Sanskrit; *e. g.* the Bengali language. Its form is so changed owing to this influence, that had it not been for inflection, one would have taken it to be a corrupt form of Sanskrit.

But besides the तद्भव and तत्सम words, the Prākṛits show an amount of others that are called देश्य or देशी, *i. e.* country

1. Gune, Die Altindischen Absolutiva p. 12.

2. II. 15.

words. Hamacandra has collected such words in his देशीनाम-माला. Some of these देशी words were already collected by Dhanapāla in his पाइअलच्छी नाममाला. Although it could be shown, that some of these words are real तद्भव, in the main they are words of other than Sanskrit extraction.

Among words wrongly but down by Hemacandra as Deśīs are:—

अकंद I 15—आकन्दः, अम्बिर I 15—by स्वरभक्ति from आम्र, अगगवेग I 1-29—अग्रवेगः, घरं I 53—by metathesis from गृह, अवडो I 53—अवटः, Vedic अवतः, अइराणी I 58—अधिराज्ञी, उल्लह I 100—उद् and रुद्, ओज्जल्ल I 154—from ओजस् and the Pr. termination अल्ल, ओसित्तं I 158—अवसित्तम्, कन्तू II 1—from कम्, कटारी II 4—from कृत्, कद्मिओ II 15—from कर्दम्, कणोवअं II 17—traceable to कवोष्णं, कडिखंबो II 17—from कटि and स्तम्भ, कारिम II 26—from कृ with termination इम्, कुडिआ, कुडीरं II 24—related to कुटी, कुक्खी II 34—कुक्षि, कोडिल्लो II 43—from कुटिल, खड्डा II 66—from खन्, खज्जोअ II 69—from खद्योत, खंधयट् II 71—स्कन्धयष्टिः, खुंपा Mar. खोपटी II 63—धुंप, गणेत्ती II 81—from गण्, गामेणी II 84—from ग्राम and एणी, गयणरई II 88—from गगन and रतिः, गोवी II 96—गोपी etc.

The Deśī words collected by Dhanapāla and Hemacandra deserve a critical study, as they would throw great light on the vocabulary not only of the Prākritis, but also of the present vernaculars and the non-Indo-aryan element in them. Some of the words are clearly Dravidian.

**47. The Period of the Prākritis:—**The period of these literary Prākritis and the underlying dialects has its two limits, the upper one in the Pāli and inscriptional Prākritis, and the lower one in the modern vernaculars. We have seen that the period of the inscriptional dialects reaches well-nigh into the first century of the Christian era. That gives them a period of some eight centuries from before Buddha's

days. The literary Prākritis make their appearance with the Brhatkathā, circa first century A. C. if not earlier. Vararuci's grammar, the Prākṛita Prakāśa, presupposes the previous existence of the Prākritis at least in a spoken form. It is not possible to say if some Prākṛit literature as we understand it, existed then and to what extent. Vararuci belongs to the first century<sup>1</sup> B. C. at least, even if we do not regard him, with Cowell, Max Müller, Pischel<sup>2</sup> and Konow, to be identical with the Vārttikakāra Kātyāyana as tradition would have it. So that we shall have to date the beginning of the Prākritis from that epoch. The lower limit would be about the eleventh century A.C. after which the modern vernaculars begin to appear on inscriptions or in literature. The period of the Prākritis, then, would roughly fall between the first and the tenth centuries of the Chirstian era. The last Sanskrit line on an inscription<sup>3</sup> of the Calukya king Vijayāditya Satyāśrya at Bādāmi, Sake 621 *i. e.* A. C. 699 or nearly the beginning of the eighth century, clearly indicates the existence of Prākṛit in some form at that time. The line runs thus: अतः परं प्राकृतभाषया पद्यान्येतानि दत्तानि. Unfortunately for us, the further lines which would have shown us the actual form of the Prākṛit, are obliterated. So much is, however, certain, that a Prākṛit in some form was used on inscriptions between the close and the beginning of the 7th and the 8th centuries respectively.

---

1. Hoernle, Gaudian Languages p. XVIII,

2. O. C. P. 34.

3. Ind. Ant. X p. 60.



## II

### THE MODERN VERNACULARS.

---

48. The principal Aryan Vernaculars of the present day:—Corresponding to the Prākṛits that we have spoken of, *viz.* the Māhārāṣṭrī, the Śaurasenī, the Ardhamāgadhī, the Māgadhī and the Paiśacī, we have vernaculars spoken in different parts of India. Thus the Marāṭhī is derived from Māhārāṣṭra Apabhraṃśa. The Gurajarātī, the Rājasthānī a group of several dialects, the Panjābī and the Western Hindī, also a group of closely allied dialects, are to be traced to Śaurasena Apabhraṃśa; the Eastern Hindī a group of dialects, to the Ardhamāgadhī Apabhraṃśa, and the Oriyā, Bengālī, Bihārī a group, and the Assamese to the Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa proper. The Sindhī, from the Vrācada and the Lahndā, Kaśmīrī are probably derived from the Paiśāca Apabhraṃśa. Besides these there are the Himālayan dialects, Garhwālī, Kumaonī and Nepālī, called by Grierson the Pahārī languages, by Hoernle the Northern Gaudian. Dr. Bhandarkar appears to include them among dialects of the Hindī.

The question whether the Marāṭhī is to be derived from the Pālī<sup>1</sup> need not detain us here. The Phonology of the Marāṭhī has very close resemblance with the M. Apabhraṃśa or Dāksinātya as it is called by later grammarians, *e. g.* Ap. कुम्भआरो, Mar. कुम्भार; Ap. कअलअं, Mar. केळें; Ap. कअ, गअ, Mar. के (लें), गे (लें); etc. No modern vernacular could today be directly traced to the Pālī, much less to Sanskrit.

---

1. Frankfurter, Handbuch des Pālī, Intr. This view is also held by others.

49. The topography of the Vernaculars and their sub-dialects:—It is not difficult to define geographically the modern vernaculars.

(a) The Marāṭhī is bounded on the south by the district of Canara, on the south-east and east by Telingana (Hyderabad Deccan) and Chotanāgpore, and on the north by the Vindhya and Satpura ranges. Various subdialects are recognised by scholars, especially by Hoernle<sup>1</sup>, who speaks of the Konkaṇī and Dakhaṇī and following Beames, adds one more, that spoken in and about Kolhapur and Ratnagiri. But these have not yet developed any considerable differences in phonology and inflection, to be classed as separate dialects. If at all, there is a difference only in pronunciation, the Konkaṇī showing a tendency towards wholesale nasalising. If they are recognised as dialects, we shall have to recognise various others, like the Karwari, the Goanese, the Malavani, the Sawantwadi, the Chitpawani, the Salsetti. Dr. Bhandarkar<sup>2</sup> mentions these and adds the Khandeśī to the list; but he too agrees that these differ from the main language in unimportant particulars only. To add to these, there is the Poona or central dialect, which is becoming the *Koivḥ* of Mahārāṣṭra, and the Berārī. The difference is mostly seen in the vocabulary, for in the Konkaṇī there is a strong mixture of Canarese words, in the Berārī of Bhīlī and slightly also of Telugu words, and in the Poona Marāṭhī of Persian words. In phonology too there is a slight difference, as already remarked; the Berārī, for instance, has a too open and rough pronunciation. Bhandarkar also mentions Khandeśī, which Grierson<sup>3</sup> puts down as a mongrel Gujarātī with a

1. Gaudian Languages, p. III.

2. Philological Lectures, p. 120.

3. The Languages of India, p. 90. Linguistic Survey Vol. IX. Part III. p. 1 & 2.

strong admixture of Marāṭhī and Bhīlī words. It is, however, to be regarded as a mixed dialect, that develops on the borderland of two distinctly different languages of a large group. This is clearly shown by words and forms like माणुस-ले, दोन, बापले, धाकला and दिदी, पडनी, त्याले, राजीखुर्ची, मिळस, मरस, देखा, अंगमा, मोठा भाऊ, आर्जव करी लागस, मना पासशे, मेजवानी करस. The Gujarātī element becomes stronger in the western parts of Khandesh and the Berāri in the easternmost part.

(b) The Gujarātī is bounded on the south and east by the Marāṭhī and Khandeśī speaking districts, on the north by Marwar and central India states speaking Rājasthānī and Western Hindī, and on the west by the Kacchī and the sea. The Gujarātī does not show any remarkable dialectal variations. Gujarāt is a fertile country and has therefore attracted immigrants from the most ancient times. We hear in the Mahābhārata of a Yādava immigration into Dvāraka; this must have happened about 1400 B.C. There were the Greek, the Mauryan and the Scythian invasions and settlements a few centuries before and after the beginning of the Christian era. In historical times, we have the Gurjaras<sup>1</sup> coming in through Panjab, Rajputana and Malva into Gujarat to which they gave their name. The old name was Lāṭa and the language was known as Lāṭī.<sup>2</sup> Besides these, there are the Arabs, the Parsis, and the Turks who found in Gujarat a welcome home. The Gujarātī language is thus a composite language having elements of the लटी Prākṛit of Daṇḍī, the Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa, and even foreign elements that it gathered from the language of the heterogeneous immigrants.

---

1. Linguistic Survey, Vol IX, Part II p. 324.

2. Kāvyaadarśa I 35.

(c) The Gujarātī with the Mārwarī have sprung from one common dialect, called 'Old Western Rājasthānī, by Tessitori<sup>1</sup>. Grierson in the Linguistic Survey has classed all the dialects of Rajputana together under the name Rājasthānī, an invented name<sup>2</sup> as he himself acknowledges. The dialects are Mārwarī, Jaipūrī, Mevātī, and Mālvi and one or two minor ones. Tessitori, however, thinks that the Mārwarī is more closely connected with the Gujarātī than with any of the others. He therefore classes it with the latter language and calls them two the developed forms of Old Western Rājasthānī; and leaves the others to be classed either under an unproved Old Eastern Rājasthānī or Old Western Hindī.

The Rajputana dialects are surrounded on the west by Sindhī and Lahndā, on the north by Lahndā, Panjābī, on the east by Braj, Bundelī (dialects of Western Hindī) and on the south by Marāṭhī, Khandeśī and Gujarātī.

(d) The Panjābī is the language spoken in modern Panjab, excepting the westernmost part along the banks of the Indus which is the place of the Lahndā. This latter, under the name of Moulṭānī was classed amongst the dialects of the Panjābī by Hoernle and others, but it has proved to be an independent dialect, allied more with the Sindhī than with the Panjābī. The Panjābī has two well marked dialects, the standard language of Amritsar and the Mālvaī of the south eastern Panjab.

(e) The Western Hindī is the name of a group of various dialects such as the Hindustānī, the Bāngarū, the Braj Bhākhā, the Kanaujī and Bundelī. Roughly speaking, part of eastern Panjab, western half of the

---

1. Ind. Ant. XLIII p. 21.

2. Ling. Survey IX Part II p. 1.



United Provinces, Bundelkhand, and part of Scindia's territory touching the United Provinces and Bundelkhand is the region of these dialects. The Bundelī runs also into the Central Provinces up to Chindwada—excluding Jubbulpore. The works of Sūradāsa, the well-known poet, the Satsai of Bihārīlāl are written in the Braj dialect. The Braj and the Kanaui are not really very well distinguishable. The home of the Braj Bhākhā is naturally Mathura and the region round about it, reaching north to Bulandshahr in the west and Bureilley in the east, and extends southwards quite into the upper Gwalior state. The Western Hindī group has developed from the Śaurasena Apabhraṃśa, the most Sanskritised of all Prākṛits, and what is also important, is situated in the ancient Madhyadeśa, the cradle of Hindu Civilization

(f) The Eastern Hindī is a group of dialects spoken over the eastern part of the United Provinces, the central Provinces excluding Nagpur and its east, and west Chota Nagpur. The dialects are (1) Avadhī or Pūrbī as it is popularly called and spoken in the province of Audh as far south as Allahabad and Benares (2) the Bāghelī spoken in Rewah, and Gondwana, and (3) the Chattisgarhī spoken in part of Chota Nagpur and Bilāspur and Raipur districts of the Central Provinces.

Older scholars, including Bhandarkar, did not distinguish between the two great groups, but called them Hindī only, giving Braj, Pūrbī etc. as dialects of it. But later research has proved that what is popularly called Hindī is really divisible into two groups, which have sometimes less in common with each other than with Panjābī and Bihārī respectively. This is also in consonance with the division of the Prākṛits, which are the parents of our mo-



dern vernaculars. A few examples will suffice to prove what is said above.

In the following comparison we shall take the Braj Bhāṣā to represent Western Hindī, and the Avadhī to represent Eastern Hindī. The pronunciation and vocabulary are less important in this connection than grammar.

(1) A very marked contrast is seen in the case of suffixes or rather postpositions.

The Braj has कूँ, कौँ, कैँ, केँ for acc. and dat., whereas the Avadhī has का or कां. Braj. छोरेकूँ to a son, Avadhī छोराका. Braj has नेँ or नैँ showing agency, Avadhī has से. Braj has for gen. के and की, Avadhī has also केर, कर् like the Bihārī and Bengali. The Panjābī agrees with the Braj in having a नै for agent. For the gen. it has a different suffix दा.

The Braj shows ए in the gen. form of the pronouns of the first and second persons, whereas Avadhī shows ओ. Braj मेरो, तेरो, Avadhī मोर. Here too there is agreement between the Braj and Panjābī on the one hand and the Avadhī and Bengali on the other. *e. g.* Panj. मेरा, तेरा; Beng. मोर, तोर. The same distinction is observed in the case of the relative and demonstrative pronouns, only with the tables turned: *i. e.* here the Braj and Panjābī have ओ, and the Avadhī and Bengali have ए. *e. g.* Braj, Panj. जो or जौ, सो; Avadhī and Beng. जे, से.

(2) This agreement of the Western Hindī with the Panjābī and others and of the Eastern Hindī with the Bengali and others, is seen more markedly in conjugation.

The Braj has infinitive in अन्, नौ; the Avadhī in ब्र. The Panjābī has infinitive in ण्, णा; the Bengali in this case does not agree with the Avadhī; but the Maithilī, a dialect of the Bihārī of the eastern group, does. *e. g.* देखव to see.

As regards the past tense, the Eastern Hindī agrees with the Western Hindī only in the form of the base, *i. e.* the past. part., but it takes personal terminations like languages of the east. Here it does not agree with the eastern languages in having a *ह* for the past form. *e. g.* Avadhī मायौँ, Bihārī मारलौँ, Braj मारा. In the future, there is a marked agreement with the eastern languages. *e. g.* Avadhī देखव, करव, Beng. देखव, करिब; but Braj करिहौँ (where इह represents Sk. इद्ध्य), मारिहौँ. The Panjābī like Hindustānī, forms future with the help of a suffix गा, कहंगा, देखंगा. The Braj. however, also shows a form देखिहैँ, where the old future termination is still retained.

These few broad points are sufficient to show that the Western and Eastern Hindī must be classed as two distinct groups, having affinities and differences with each other, as they have with other groups.

(g) The Oṛiya is spoken in the modern Orissa. It is also called Utkalī or Odrī from the ancient name of the province. It is also the language of south Midnapore, southernmost corner of Bihar, a little portion of Chota Nagpur, Sambalpore, and the upper part of the Gunjam district. It has Bengali and Bihārī on the north, Eastern Hindī on the west, the Telugu on the south and the sea on the east. It shows no dialectic variations worth mentioning.

(h) The Bengali or Bangabhāṣa is the language of the lower Bengal province. But it is also spoken in a part of Chota Nagpur and the Assam valley. The Bengali language shows two clear cut dialects in the present day, the Sanskrit-ridden Bengali of the educated classes, and the genuine vernacular of the masses. About

the former the Linguistic Survey<sup>1</sup> writes, 'each decade it is becoming more a slave of Sanskrit than before'. The tendency is to discourage genuine Bengali words in favour of highly Sanskritized expressions. There is, however, another and perhaps a better classification into (1) the central dialect of Calcutta and the region round about it, (2) the eastern dialects of Rangpur, Mymensingh, Dacca, Barisal, and (3) western dialect of Nadia and the twenty-four Parganas. There are sub-dialects of these with popular names like Khariāthār, Koch, Chākmā etc.

(i) The Bihārī is the name of a group of dialects spoken in Bihar. It has Eastern Hindī to its west, Eastern Hindī, Oṛiyā and Bengali to its south and the Bengali to its east. On the north it is bounded by Himalayan dialects. Oudh and Fyzabad are just outside its limits on the west, but Benares and Mirzapur are within. It is spoken also in part of Chota Nagpur. There are three main dialects, the Maithilī, Māghaī or Māgadhi and Bhojpurī. Of these Maithilī is the most important; it is spoken in Muzfarpur, Darbhanga, Campārān, Purnea and upper part of Bhagalpur district. Its northern boundary is the lower Himalaya and southern roughly the river Ganges. Māgadhi is the dialect of the heart of old Bihar, being spoken in Patna and the Gaya, Hazaribag districts. The Bhojpurī is the most westerly of the Bihārī dialects. Gorakhpur, Gazipur, Benares, Mirzapur, Chapra are the big towns in and round which it is spoken, besides also in some part of Chota Nagpur. There are sub-dialects<sup>2</sup> of these principal ones, with which we are not much concerned.

---

1. Vol. V Part I p. 16.

2. Cf. Grierson, *seven Grammars of the Bihārī Language*, 1883.

(k) The Assamese language belongs to the Indg. vernaculars and is spoken in the northernmost portion of Assam, in the valley of the Brahmaputrā river before it enters Bengal proper. There are two principal dialects, one in the east round Sivasagar and other in the west.

(l) The Sindhī is spoken in the Sindh province, along both the banks of the lower Indus. It has to its west Baluchistan, to its north the district of Mooltan, to its east the Mārwarī speaking province of Rajputana and to the south the sea. Between it and the Gujarātī, there is the Kacchī, which is to be regarded as a mixed borderland dialect, partaking of the features of both. The Sindhī has borrowed freely from the Persian, as the population that speaks it is to a great extent Mussalman. It has three main dialects, the Siraikī, the Lārī and the Tharelī. The first is spoken in upper Sindh, the second in lower Sindh and the last in the desert of Thar. The Sindhī is the outcome of the Vrācada Apabhraṃṣa, as the Lahndā, which is closely allied to it, of the Paiśācī.

(m) The Lahndā is a language spoken in eastern Panjab along the banks of the upper Indus. It was called Mooltani by other scholars and was classed amongst the dialects of the Panjābī. But this view has now been given up. The land of this language is where the ancient Kekayas had settled. The preservation of intervocalic  $\text{ṛ}$ , which in other dialects became  $\text{ṛ}$  and was afterwards elided, is a special characteristic of the Paiśācī and it is seen also in the Lahndā,<sup>1</sup> and partly in the Panjābī.

The dialects of the Lahndā are many. Pothwārī, Chībhālī, Tināoli, Ubhechī, Thallī, Khetrānī are the names of some of them. They have yet to be properly studied. La-

---

1. Grierson, Languages of India, p. 66.



hndā with the Sindhī, belongs according to Grierson<sup>1</sup> to the Outer Circle.

(n) Then there is the Kāśmīrī, spoken in Kashmere a Paisācī dialect<sup>2</sup> possessing considerable literature. It has shared the fate of Hindī, showing two dialects, a Hindu dialect full of Sanskrit loan words, and a Mohamedan dialect showing Persian and Arabic words in abundance.

(o) Lastly there are the Garhwālī, the Komaonī and the Nepālī and other Himalayan languages, called by Grierson the Pahārī languages and by Hoernle<sup>3</sup> the Northern Gaudian. They are spoken in the lower Himalayan ranges from the Sutlej in the west to the Gogri in the east. Those who speak the western form of that group are called Khasās, the descendants of the Khasās figuring in the epic as foreigners together with Śabaras, Śakas and Yavanas. These languages have yet to be investigated.

50. The affinities and proposed groups of Vernaculars:—We have thus followed the development of the principal Prākritis or Apabhraṃsas and given a general survey of the languages derived from them. Some of these show closer resemblances with one another than with others. It is on the strength of such resemblances that European scholars have distributed them into groups. Thus Hoernle<sup>4</sup> speaks of an Eastern Gaudian composed of Eastern Hindī, Bengali and Oṛiyā and a Western Gaudian composed of Western Hindī, Panjābī, Gujarātī and Sindhī; to these he adds a Northern Gaudian consisting of Garhwālī, Kumaonī and Nepālī, and a Southern Gaudian consisting of the Marāṭhī only.

---

1. Languages of India p. 65.

2. Grierson, Manual of the Kāśmīrī Language, Vol. I p. 7.

3. Gaudian Languages p. III.

4. O. C. pp. XIV to XVII, especially the last.



It is to be noted that Hoernle does not recognise Bihārī as a distinct group at all. He classes its dialects, *e. g.* Bhojpurī,<sup>1</sup> amongst the dialects of the Eastern Hindī.

Grierson, of the Linguistic Survey fame, has planned his whole work on a different classification. He thus speaks of a central group formed by Western Hindī, Pan-jābī, Rājasthānī and Gujarātī, the Himalayan languages, a mediate group composed of Eastern Hindī only, an eastern group consisting of the Bihārī, Oṛiyā, Bengali and Assamese languages, a southern group of the Marāṭhī only and a north-western group of the Sindhī, the Lahndā and the Kāśhmīrī.

Grierson also refers to languages of the Outer Circle. By this he means the Lahndā, the Sindhī, the Marāṭhī, the Oṛiyā, the Bengali, the Bihārī and the Assamese. These show certain characteristics in common, *e. g.* the ल् of the past participle and the past tense. *e. g.* Mar. उठिला, Oṛiya उठिला, Beng. उठিল, Bihārī उठल्, Assamese उঠिल्.

But in this respect it is always well to point out similarities and differences and not to be led into grouping and regrouping, which after all may be largely subjective and liable to be upset so soon as other facts come to light. If Marāṭhī agrees with the languages of the so-called Outer Circle, or eastern group in certain points, *e. g.* the ल above spoken of, the आ of the strong masc. nouns, घोडा, भला, E. H. घोरा, भला, in pronunciation generally the Marāṭhī also agrees with languages of the central group. The pronunciation of the palatals in Mar. is similar to that in Kāśhmīrī, Gujarātī and Rājasthānī of the central or western group. The distinction between व् and वृ is observed in the Marāṭhī, Gujarātī, Punjābī, Sindhī, but not

---

1. Hoernle O. C. p. XXXVI.

in the others. In possessing a द् Marāṭhī and Oṛiyā agree with Rājasthānī, Gujarātī and Panjābī only. Even inside the Marāṭhī itself there are dialects which show so called eastern features as against others which show western peculiarities. Thus the Konkanī nom. sing. of strong masc. nouns ends in ओ *e. g.* गोरो, चेड्यो, and is thus in agreement with Gujarātī, Rājasthānī and others of the western or central group, as against the standard which shows आ, *e. g.* गोरा, मुलगा, and is in keeping with the eastern dialects.

Again if the Marāṭhī agrees with the eastern vernaculars in point of the nom. sing. in आ, it agrees with the western or rather central ones in respect of the nom. pl. Mar. घोडा, E. H. घोरा a horse, but Mar. घोडे, W. H. बेटे, लरके; as against E. H. लरका or लरिका sons; Guj. दीकरा nom. pl. agrees with E. H. In the nom. sing. of relative and demonstrative pronouns, the Marāṭhī agrees with Western Hindī in having an ओ ending. *e. g.* जो, तो, (also को(-ण)); Braj जौ, सो, but E. H. जे, ते; Beng. जे, ए; Guj. agrees with the east, *e. g.* जे and ते. The Marāṭhī agrees with Western Hindī in having a न (नें) infinitive; *e. g.* करणें, देणें; Braj देनउं, लेनउं; but the Chattisgarhī also shows this न infinitive, *e. g.* करन्, जान्, to do, to go. The Marāṭhī also shows infinitive in व like the Gujarātī; old Mar. करावें (-याला), modern Mar. करावयाला, Guj. करवुं.

The above will have made it sufficiently clear that the distribution of the vernaculars into allied groups is not as easy as it would seem at first sight. So many conflicting points of view are apt to crop up, that it will always be difficult to select some only as of first importance and neglect the others. It is none-the-less the linguist's duty to point out all the resemblances and differences. Every such attempt, therefore, should be welcome as a step for-

ward in the proper understanding and study of the modern vernaculars.

51. **Phonology of the modern vernaculars:**—The modern vernaculars possess all the vowels except कृ and लृ. Some of them have a short ए and ओ besides the diphthongal ए and ओ. According to Hoernle, the Eastern Hindī has fourteen or fifteen vowels. We have already met the short simple ए and ओ before conjuncts in the Prākrits. We shall only note changes in the vowels in the principal vernaculars.

a. **Changes in vowels:**—अ before conjunct is lengthened and the conjunct simplified. This process had already begun in the Prākrits. But some times the conjunct remains. *e. g.* Mar. कातडें, Pr. कत्ति, Sk. कृत्ति:; कान्हा Mar. Guj., Hindī, Pr. कण्हो, Sk. कृष्णः.

अ is changed to इ apparently owing to no cause. Avadhī छिनु, Coll Mar. खिण-Sk. क्षण.

इ and उ are changed to ए and ओ before conjuncts. This was already observed in the Prākrits; but in many of the vernaculars it has become universal. *e. g.* Mar. शेंदूर, H. सेंदूर, Prākrit सिंदूरो, or सेन्दूरो, Sk. सिन्दूरः; पोथी Mar. Guj. also पोथा in H. and Panj., Prākrit पोत्थअम्, Sk. पुस्तकम्. Mar. तोंड, Prākrit तुण्डम्, तोण्डम्, Sk. तुण्डम्. Mar. घोस, Pr. गोच्छ, Sk. गुच्छ. It is to be observed however that some vernaculars prefer to keep इ and उ. *e. g.* Guj. and Beng. सिंदूर, Sindhī सिंधुर, Beng. पुथी-पुस्तकं, S. कुखि-कुक्षि, O. मुकुळ-Pr. मोक्क-मुक्त. The Prākrit ए, ओ before conjuncts are short; where in the vernaculars the conjuncts are simplified they become long.

इ and उ often become ए, ओ although originally there is no conjunct in the word. Mar. मेहुण-Pr. मिहुण-Sk. मिथुन, Guj. मोहडुं-Pr. मुह-Sk. मुख; vul. Mar. भोय-standard Mar. भुई; Hindī नेवता-Pr. निमन्त-Sk. निमन्त्र.

ई and ऊ are often shortened when the accent falls on the last syllable. Mar. किडा-Pr. कीडओ-Sk. कीटकः, Guj. कुवो-Pr. कूवओ-Sk. कूपकः, Hindī कीला, Mai. किला-Pr. कीलओ-Sk. कीलकः. This is best seen in Mar. inflection, where, if the accent is thrown forward, the preceding long vowel becomes short. Mar. रीत-रीतीचें, मूळ-मुळास, वीळ-विळास.

ई and ऊ also become ए, ओ. Mar. तांबोळी-Sk. ताम्बूल; O. भोक-Mar. भूक; but more often अ or आ. Hindī बभूत-Sk. विभूति, Panj. निरखणा-Sk. निरीक्षण, G. लखवुं-Sk. लिख, G. माणस-Mar. माणूस-Sk. मनुष्य, G. परशोत्तम-पुरुषोत्तम. This tendency is more wide-spread in the Guj. than in other vernaculars.

The vernaculars, like the Pāli and the Prākṛits, have lost ऐ and औ; in their place, as in the place of अय and अव, they have the simple vowels ए, ओ. Mar. गेरुं-Sk. गौरिक, Mar. गोरा-Sk. गौरः, Hindī, Beng., Oriyā सोहाग-सौभाग्य. मोती all dialects-Sk. मौक्तिकम्. In Mar. तेत्तिस-त्रयस्त्रिंशत्, ओळंबा-अवलंबकः, the contraction is due to accent.

ऐ and औ that are seen in some words are due either to combination of अ, इ and अ, उ when the consonant between them is dropped, or to the influence of Sanskrit. *e. g.* Hindī भैस, Mar. म्हैस-Sk. महिषी, Hindī and Panj. मैल, Mar. मैला a borrowed word—Sk. मलिन; Mar. बेल-Pr. बइल्ल-Sk. बलीवर्द, तैसा most dialects—Aphh. तइस-Pr. तादिस-Sk. तादृश, Mar. चौथा-Pr. चउत्थ-Sk. चतुर्थ, O. बौ-Ap. वऊ-Sk. वधू, चौगुणीनें-Sk. चतुर्गुण. In words like नैन-Sk. नयन, H. and P. धोला-धवल they are due to अय and अव.

Examples of assimilation are Mar. ऊसं, H. ऊख-Pr. उच्छू-Sk. इक्षु, सेज and शेज-Pr. सेज्जा-Sk. शय्या, मिरां-Guj. मरची, Pr. मरिअम्-Sk. मरिचम्, H. इम्ली-Sk. आम्लिका. Metathesis is seen in H. उङ्गली-अङ्गुली, Mar. हिरडा-हरितकी, H. अकेला-एकलक, H. वृन्द-विन्दु.



Bhandarkar<sup>1</sup> draws attention to a sound change which is due to accent. When the penultimate is accented, as is mostly the case in all vernaculars, the syllable under accent is lengthened and the final vowel is dropped. Mar. पद्धत-पद्धति, कीर्त-कीरत-कीर्ति, रास-राशि, मध-मधु. Where the syllable is already long, it is uttered with a stress. This lengthening is accentuated in colloquial speech and we get words like पाताळ for standard पातळ, वंगाळ for ओंगळ, जतान for जतन.

The shortening and elision of vowels in Guj. and Hindi, *e. g.* कुवो, ससूरो, सीक्युं etc., are also due to the shifting of the accent backwards. *e. g.* Mar. बैस from उवइस.

Even initial vowels are elided under loss of accent; Mar. रान-Pr. रण्ण-Sk. अरण्य; Mar. भीतीं-Sk. अभ्यन्तरं, Mar. and Hindi रहाट-Pr. अरहट-Sk. अरघट. This change began in the Prākṛit stage itself as forms like रण्ण show, but had not become universal, *e. g.* अरहट. Dropping at the end is seen in Mar. तेरा, चौदा-त्रयोदश etc.

*b.* Consonantal changes:—After their emasculation in the Prākṛits, the consonants do not appear to have suffered any further loss.

(*a*) Surds are often softened; *e. g.* Mar. सगळा-Sk. सकल, Mar. बगळा-Sk. बकः, Mar. कागडा-Sk. काक, cf. E. H. काग्, H. लोग-लोक, E. H. एग्यारह, Guj. अग्यार; Mar. निवडणे, E. H. निवाडै-Pr. नव्वट्टि-Sk. निर्वर्तयति; Mar. कवाड-Pr. कवाडअ-Sk. कपाटक; Mar. घडणे-घटयति; Sindhī, Panj. पंज-Sk. पञ्च, Col. Mar. पिढें-Sk. पीठम्. It is to be remarked however that this softening had almost been completed in the Prākṛits. Mar. भादवा-Pr. भाद्वअ-Sk. भाद्रपद. Mar. Guj. बावडि-Sk. बापी.

य् and व् are softened into इ and उ. Examples<sup>2</sup> of the latter case are numerous. Mar. (अडोशी) पडोशी-Sk. प्रतिवेशी, P.

1. Philological Lectures, p. 152.

2. Bhandarkar, O. C. p. 168.



जनेऊ, S. जनोई-Sk. यज्ञोपवीत; Mar. भोंवरा, भोंवळ-Pr. भंवर-Sk. भ्रमर, Mar. सोपणें-Apbb. सर्वप्प-Sk. समर्प, Mar. भे-सूर-Sk. स्वर.

इ is softened into ँ—दाळिंब-दाडिम, पिळणें-पीड, गूळ-गुड. The *r* of numerals from 11 to 18 is due to इ softened from द. Mar. वारा, Guj. वार-द्वादश.

न becomes ल more generally than in the Prākritis. *e. g.* Mar. लिंब-निंब, Hindī लोटके-Sk. निवर्त, M. लवण, H. लौना-M. नमन, Mar. Guj. नांगर-लाङ्गल.

र and ऋ are interchangeable. Still the Hindī, especially E. H. and Braj. prefer र. Braj. धौरा, Col. Mar. ढवळा-धवल; सांवरा, Mar. सांवळा-Sk. श्यामल; Marāṭhī shows stray words like सांवरी (but शेंवरी also)-Sk. शास्मलि.

स् or श, original or derived, becomes ह in some vernaculars. In Marāṭhī this change is only seen in the word दश Mar. दहा. The Hindī and Sindhī have preserved it only in numerals between ten and twenty. H. ग्यारह, तेरह, सोलह, S. कारहं, तेरहं, सोरहं. Guj. (परम्) दहाडे, P. दिहं, Mar. however दिस. The form दिह is, however, found half a dozen times in the ज्ञानेश्वरी. Sindhī and Panj. prefer ह. P. सहुरा, S. सहुरो-Sk. श्वशुर.

Col. Guj. agrees with them in this preference. Guj. हमजे, stand. Guj. समजे, हात, हाडा, Mar. सात, साडे-Sk. सप्त, सार्धम्.

म् is changed to वं in many vernaculars; this change already began in the Prākrit stage. *e. g.* Pr. भवंर-Sk. भ्रमर. Mar. नांव-नाम, गांव-ग्राम, cf. S. नाउं; Guj. गांम, H. गाम are Sanskritisms or rather good तद्भव words disturbed by तत्सम again.

Some vernaculars show म् for व् *e. g.* Guj. ठाम-Mar ठाव. Sindhī and Panj. मिनत, B. मिनति-Mar. धिनंति, in verse विनति.

छ original or reduced in the Prākritis from क्ष, त्स्य, or त्सु is further changed in Mar. to स. *e. g.* Mar. मासा, H. माछ-मत्स्य, Mar. ऊंस-उच्छ, Sk. इक्षु, वास (हं)-वच्छ-वत्स, सण (वार)-छण-क्षण; घोंस-गोछ-गुच्छ.

The aspirates, soft or hard, become unaspirated in most of the dialects. *e. g.* Mar. शिकणें-Pr. सिक्ख-Sk. शिक्ष. But Hindī retains them. *e. g.* लिखना, सीख, भीख, हाथ.

ख, घ, य, ध् and भ् are reduced to ह्. This change also is already Prākritic ; so that we must recognise the Prākrits in some form or other as a stage between old Sanskrit and the modern vernaculars.

Col. Mar. मोहरें, St. Mar. समोर, Guj. मोढुं, Hindī मुह-Sk. मुख; Guj. Sindhī मेह, महु-मेघः, माहर-माइघर-मातृग्रह ; Hindī नैहर-नाइघर-ज्ञातिग्रह.

Old-Mar. नाहो, H. नाह-नाथ, मेहुण-मिथुन, कहाणी, B. कहिनी-कथानक Mar. O. बहिरा-बधिर; H. Guj. Sin. वहु-वधू; Col. Mar. पेहरण, H. पहेरना, G. पेहरवुं-परिधा.

Mar. पहाट-प्रभात, Guj. वाल्हो-वल्लभ, H. दुल्हा-दुल्लह-दुर्लभ (another derivation, offered by Beames and Bhandarkar<sup>1</sup> is from उदूढक, which is doubtful); cf. Old Mar. वाल्हेंदुलें which occurs a couple of times in the ज्ञानेश्वरी,

For a detailed treatment of change of consonants see Bhandarkar<sup>2</sup> and Hoernle.<sup>3</sup>

Much need not be said regarding conjuncts. They already suffered a change in the Prākrits, being either assimilated or simplified. The modern vernaculars have carried on simplification further. Mar. काज-Pr. कज्ज-Sk. कार्य; Mar. हात, Guj. हाथ-Pr. हत्थ-Sk. हस्त; Coll. Mar. दीठ, Old. Mar. दिठी-Sk. दृष्टि; Mar. वीज-Pr. विज्जुआ-Sk. विद्युत् ; Mar. माथा, Guj. माथुं, B. माथा-मस्तक; Mar. शिजणें, Panj. सिज्जाणा-स्विद्यति; Mar. Sin. वांझ, O. B. वांझ-वंध्या; Mar. बुझावणें, H. बुझना-बुध्यति, वाखाणणें-व्याख्यान.

1. Phil Lectures p. 165.

2. O. C. p. 133 to 197.

3. O. C. p. 31 to 45.

Another way of avoiding conjuncts was by introducing a vowel between the components or स्वरभाक्ति. This, as we have seen, has been in operation from the most ancient times. *e. g.* Col. Mar. वरीस, Hindī बरस-वर्ष; Panj. अग, Beng. आगुन, Coll. Mar. आगीन-अग्नि; शिलोक, किळस, नखेत्र are other examples. It is interesting to note that even foreign words are subjected to this process; *e. g.* पिलेग-Eng. *plague*, सिलेट-Eng. *slate*, पलाटफारम-Eng. *platform*. वखत-Per. Arab. वक्त, मुलख-मुल्क etc.

Most of the conjuncts that have remained in the vernaculars are due to the influence of Sanskrit; some belong to foreign words; *e. g.* वक्तशीर, तक्तनशीन etc. Some of them are adventitious; *e. g.* Hindī हन्स from Sk. हंस, बन्सी-वंश etc. and are due to the inability of properly pronouncing the अनुनासिक.

52 Inflection:—It has been already observed that the modern vernaculars have passed into the analytic stage. Thus they have lost the old Prākṛit inflection and have adopted postpositions as substitutes for case terminations. *e. g.* Mar. लागीं, पाशीं, ला, col. Mar. प *e. g.* माहाप=माजपाशीं, Guj. ने, थी, नो, मां ( from मध्यात् ), Braj नैं, कू or कौं, or के, में, मैं, लौं ( cf. Mar. ला ), Avadhī का, से, केर or कर, में पर, Bengali के, रे, ते, अर् or एर्. etc. There is however some distinction. In some dialects, these postpositions are looked upon as almost part of the word, *i. e.* they are passing into the synthetic stage again; in others they are still regarded as quite distinct from the base to which they are added on.

The vernaculars, like the Pāli and Prākṛits, have no dual.<sup>1</sup> In some there are three genders, but in others.

1. Rajwade, Dnyāneshwari Grammar, p. 20 says that the dual of nouns in अ is found in Dn. He adduces only one passage Dn. 7. 32, where it is highly doubtful, if not spurious.

like Eastern Hindī' and Bengali only two; *i. e.* nouns in these latter are either masculine or feminine. In some vernaculars the plural is formed by adding a word meaning 'many or people'. *e. g.* Bengali कुकुर सकळ dogs, Bihārī छोकरालोक. A trace of it is seen in Mar. दोघेजण, सर्वजण.

There are no consonantal bases, most of them having dropped the final consonant or added an अ to it. Some bases in original कृ have assumed an आ ending from the Sk. nom. of these bases; *e. g.* Mar. पिता-पित्यास, माता-मातेस; some of them have an उ; Mar. भाऊ, जाऊ-भावास, जावेस. So that there are really only vowel stems in अ, आ, इ, ई, उ, ऊ and ए etc.

(a) The modern vernaculars have preserved only some of the Apabhramśa case terminations. Thus the old Mar. has preserved the उ of the nom. sing., एं and ने of the instr. sing., the Bihārī has preserved only the एं termination; the Guj. has it without the nasal; *e. g.* Guj. छोकराए by a boy; the instr. pl., the स<sup>2</sup> of the dative, which according to some is from सस-स्य of the genitive, ई of the loc. sing. from सिं-स्मिन्. Of the plurals, the Mar. has preserved the nom. pl. of neuters, कमलें from कमलई, the instr. pl. in देवी, which is reduced from Apbh. हिं. The Sindhī and Panjābī have preserved the abl. ह्या-स्मात् in आं and ओं, the Hindī and Oṛiyā the loc. in ए.

These and the new terminations like Mar. ला, लागीं, हून आंत, Guj. थी, मां, ने, नों, Braj. कूं, कौं, सूं, Maithilī कें and सौं, कर्, मां, Beng. एर, देर, दिगेर etc. are added in the vernaculars, except in the Bengali and Oṛiyā, to what is called the oblique

- 
1. Hoernle, Gaudian Languages p. 181, 185.
  2. According to Bhandarkar, old Marāṭhī has not got this क. O. p. 204.

form. This oblique form is nothing else than the old genitive.<sup>1</sup>

(b) The terminations that are not directly traceable to Apbh. or Prākṛit are variously explained by scholars. Thus Caldwell traces the क terminations in different vernaculars to Dravidian कु; this, as Dr. Bhandarkar has rightly pointed out, is absurd. The vernaculars, especially the Marāṭhī, have drawn to some extent upon Dravidian vocabulary; but they have kept their grammar in tact. An isolated borrowed form is a strange instance of linguistic borrowing, even if granted for argument's sake. The other possible derivation is from कृते, but this leaves the *anuswāra* unexplained. Dr. Bhandarkar<sup>2</sup> traces them to the Apbh. postposition केहि. Thus ते, तई etc. would be traced to Apbh. तेहि.

The Mar. ला of the dative is to be considered in connection with a similar postposition in the other vernaculars. Cf. P. लइ, S. लाइ, N. लाय all meaning 'for'. This has been connected with the root ल्ग्; लागीं-लाई-ला. The ना of the plural is also to be connected with ला, the change being influenced by the preceding *anuswāra* which in the vernaculars has come to be invariably associated with the plurals. A subdialect of Mar. shows त्यान्ला which is the intermediate step leading to त्यांना. The idea that the ला is to be traced to Persian<sup>3</sup> را is as absurd as the Dravidian origin of the क terminations above spoken of.

The Guj. नों, नीं, नु are derived from the Apbh. suffix तण; the ने of the dative is also to be traced to the same

1. Bhandarkar, O. C. p. 234 and 241.

2. O. C. 247. Otherwise Beames, Comparative Grammar II. p. 255.

3. Rājwāde, Dn. Grammar p. 12 and 26. Hoernle, Gaudian Grammar 244.



and is not to be regarded as due to लो', ला. This latter change would be unaccountable in Guj.

The abl. suffix is in Marāṭhī हून and सून, old Mar. हूनियां. Bhandarkar derives it from the absolutive होऊन *having become*, but this is doubtful. European scholars think that it is due to the fusion of Apbh. forms हितो-सुतो, which themselves are composite forms made up by instr. and loc. terminations with the abl. तस् added. It is perhaps to be traced to हु and हुं of Apbh. abl. sing. and pl. terminations, the *anunāsika* in the latter being responsible for the full nasal. This is still further reduced to ऊन and ऊनियां, औनियां of Dnyāneśwarī Marāṭhī. Maithilī सौं, Braj. सों, सूं, Avadhī से, सेनी etc. are to be traced to the Apbh. loc. सुं, which is also seen in Apbh. abl. सुतो. The Guj. थो, Panj. थो, थों are to be traced to Apbh. तहि with the aspiration thrown back.

The Mar. genitive is no real case. The suffix च makes of the noun a possessive adjective which agrees with the noun in gender, number and case. Thus Mar. has चा, ची, चें, Guj. नो, नी नुं, Sindhī जो, जी, W. Hindī का, की, Braj. कौ, E. H. कर, केर, Panj. दा, दी, Beng. इर, एर, O. र. The last two apparently do not change; and Sindhī, Hindī and Panjabī have two forms only as they have two genders only, the masc. and fem. The Maithilī shows a क *e. g.* पानिक of *water*<sup>2</sup>.

The Sk. and Apbh. origin of any of these is easily disposed of when it is pointed out that none of them is a real case suffix. The Marāṭhī च could not be traced to Pr. स्स, Sk. स्य; besides it is phonetically impossible. Nor can it be derived from Hindī का, केर<sup>3</sup>. The only likely derivations

1. Beames, Comp. Grammar II. p. 260.

2. Hoernle, O. C. 221, Bhandarkar O. C. p. 256.

3. Hoernle, O. C. 238 derives it in that way. His attempt to prove that असैचयं, तुलैचयं are only other forms of असकेरं, तुलकेरं has not in the least succeeded.

are (1) from the suffix *त्य* which certain indeclinables take in Sanskrit; this would become *च्च* in Prākṛit and simple *च* in Mar. and (2) from the suffix *ईय*. Bhandarkar<sup>1</sup> lends the weight of his authority to the former and Krishnashastrī Chiploonkar, and Krishnashastrī Godbole incline to the latter view. I am also inclined to side with the latter<sup>2</sup>. The *ईय* gives the Sindhī जो, जी. How the *ज* of इज्ज, ईय came to be *च* will have to be investigated. The Guj. नों, नी, नुं are to be derived from तण (Sk. त्वन ?); the Old Guj. itself shows forms in तण *e. g.* चित्ततणा of the mind.' The suffixes कर, केर and इर, एर are to be traced to Apbh. केरक, केरअ-*e. g.* Mṛcchakaṭika-तुह बप्पकेरके उय्याणे ?' In the latter case the क was softened into a vowel when it was no longer regarded as a postposition, but a suffix attached to words. It thus became medial and was, according to the well known Prākṛit law, dropped. The other set of gen. suffixes का, कौ etc. are derived by Bhandarkar from कृत through कअ. This same कृत would in Śaurasena Apbh. become कद and lose its क so soon as it ceased to be initial and thus give दा, दी of the Panjābī. Hoernle<sup>3</sup> derives it from root दा. Beames's<sup>4</sup> derivation from the present participle सन्त-सन्दो-हन्दो-दो is, to say the least, unthinkable.

The suffixes for the loc. are Mar. आंत, Beng. and Panj. ते, Guj. मां, Braj. मे, मैं, also पै and लौं, Avadhī में, Sindhī मे. These are not as tough to explain as were the gen. suffixes. आंत is from the Sk. adverb अन्तः; मां, में, मैं are from Sk. मध्ये through Apbh. माहिं-माइं-मैं, or माइ-मे; पै is from पार्श्व. We have पाशी and Hindi and Guj. पासे used as postpositions. लौं has the same genesis as Mar. ला, Nepālī, Hindi लाई

1. Also Beames, Comparative Grammar II p. 289.

2. See supra p. 29, 30.

3. O. C. 239.

4. O. C. 291.

(b) Adjectives follow nouns in gender, except in Oriyā and Bengali where they change rarely, and in number and case also. But mostly they are used in what is called the oblique form; Mar. चांगल्या घोड्यास. The comparison is formed by words like अधिक, बहोत, सबसे and others. The Sk. ईयम्, इष्ट are given up, and तर and तम are only used in what passes for classical style now a days.

(c) Much need not be said regarding pronouns. We shall only give the personal pronouns and their cases in the different vernaculars.

Mar.—मी, मला, मजला, मज, माझा, माझ्यांत; आम्ही, आम्हांस, आमचा, आमच्यांत.  
तूं, तुला, तुजला, तुज, तुझा, तुझ्यांत; तुम्ही, तुम्हांस, तुमचा, तुमच्यांत.

Guj.—हूं, मने, मारे, हूंथी, मारेथी, मारो, मारामां; अमे, अमने, अमारो, अमथी, अमारामां etc.; तूं, तने, तूंथी-ताराथी, तारो, तारामां-तुजमां etc.; तमे, तमने, तमाराथी-तमथी, तममां-तमारामां.

Braj.—हौं, मै, मोहि, मोइ, मेरउ; हम, हमें, हमारौ, हमार्यौ; तू, तैं, तोहि, तूहि, तेरौ, तेच्यौ; तुम्, तुम्हें, तुम्हारौ, तुम्हार्यौ.

Maithilī: में } मोहि, मोर } हम सब; तोह, तोहार, तोह सब.  
हम् } हमार }

Beng.—मइ, मोर, मोते; मोरा, मोदेर; तुह, तोर, तोते; तोरा, तोदेर.

Oriyā.—मुं, मोते, मारा-मोहारा, मोमाने, मोमानंक; तुं, तोते, तोरा, तोमाने, तोमानंक. There are also forms used in respectful language like आम्मे, तुम्मे etc.

Avadhī.—मैं, मोर; हम, हमार; तैं or तूं, तोर, तुम् or तैं, तोहार, or तोहरे.  
Sindhī.—आंऊ, आं, असीं, तूं and तव्हां.

These forms need no comment except that the Guj. and Braj. i.e. the Western Hindī, Panjābī and Sindhī agree in deriving the first person from the Sk. base अहकम्, Māg. हगे, and the rest viz. Marāṭhī, Eastern Hindī, Bihārī, Bengali

and Oriyā agree in having the base म, which underlies the other cases in Sanskrit.

**b. Conjugation:**—It is in this respect that the vernaculars have suffered great losses. Of tenses the old present only is preserved, but in a special sense and a new class of participial tenses is created. Of the moods imperative only is preserved. There are however the usual verbal derivatives.

The conjugational distinctions were already lost during the Prākṛit stage ; but the additions that Sk. roots took in the various classes are seen in some bases in the vernaculars. *e. g.* Mar. बिहिणें-Sk. विभी, सिजणें-स्विद्य, माजला-Sk. माद्य, जाणणें-जाना etc. Hindī सुण-श्रुणु.

(a) The old present is preserved in most vernaculars

Mar.	हसं हसों or हसूं	Apbh.	हसउं	हसहुं (for हसामो)
	हसस हसा		हसहिं (सि)	हसहु
	हसे हसत		हसइ	हसहिं (हसान्ति).

Guj.	करं करिये	H.	करं करें	Benj.	करि करि
	करे करो		करे करो		करिस कर
	करे करे		करे करें		करे करेन.

Or.	करइं करु	S.	हलां हलूं	Panj.	करां करय
	करु कर		हलें हलो		करें करो
	करइ करन्ति		हले हलनि		करे करण.

It will be seen that these forms are so transparent, that a glance at them will convince that they are an old inheritance preserved in these languages. In all cases the Apbh. ह् is dropped and the vowels combined. Some languages, like the Bengali and Oriyā, have lost the nasal of the first person. Mar. Guj. and Hindī have lost the nasal in the third person. Marāṭhī second person sing. form हसस

is not to be traced to Apbh. हसहि, but to be looked upon as a Māhārāṣṭrī-ism, for we have हससि there like Sanskrit; Oṛiyā करन्ति is also a borrowed form.

Of the old moods the imperative<sup>1</sup> only is preserved. In Mar. for instance we have करुं and करुं-करों for the first person, कर-करीं and करा for the second and करो, करोत for the third. The Bengali and Oṛiyā have this mood; other languages have preserved the second person only. करुं and करीं are from करामु, करामो, the nasal having changed to an *anunāsika*. करीं is regular Apbh. करो is from करउ, the अ and उ give ओ in combination.

For Bengali and Oṛiyā forms and their explanation see Bhandarkar<sup>2</sup>.

The Hindī, Gujarātī and Panjābī have कर for the 2nd pers. sing. like Mar. and करो for the plural. This, it will be observed, is also the form for the present in these languages. Panj. ई and Sindhī इ and उ follow Apbh. forms. The old Mar. forms in जो like अवधारिजो, दीजो, भोगिजे, कीजे are from the pass. imperative and to be traced to अवधारिज्जइ, दिज्जइ, किज्जइ etc.

(c) The old future is preserved wholly in languages like the Gujarātī and Hindī and partly in some others. Guj. करीश, करिशुं; करशे, करशो and करशे, करशे, old Guj. करीस etc., show the characteristic स्य, स्स of the future. This same has become ह in the Braj<sup>3</sup>, where the forms are करिहों, करिहैं; करिहै, करिहो; करिहै, करिहै.

(d) The new present tense is formed in most vernaculars by taking the present participle as the base and

1. Bhandarkar O. C. 213.

2. O. C. p. 213.

3. Bhandarkar O. C. 218, Hoernle, O. C. 256.



adding terminations expressive of person and also gender. Mar. करतो, करतो; करतोस, करता; करतो and करते, करतात. The personal terminations are seen in the first pl., second singular and plural, which according to Dr. Bhandarkar goes back upon इत्था of the Prākrits. In the others it had to make place for the termination of the adjective. The Hindī, Bengali and Oṛiyā also have this sort of present, but it has acquired the sense of the habitual present, just as the old present has done in Marāṭhī.

(e) The past tense has the same story to tell. It is expressed in all modern vernaculars by the past participle with a few personal terminations. It is also an adjectival tense. Mar. केलें, केलेंस, केलें, or गेलें, गेलास, गेला and गेले are clearly forms of the past participles के and गे, Pr. कअ and गअ with a termination ल, which now has acquired the past significance though it originally had none. For the genesis of this ल which is found besides in Bihārī, Bengali, Oṛiyā, Assamese and Sindhī see *supra* p. 24, 25.

The Bihārī and the Bengali add to the ल what Grier-son<sup>1</sup> calls the enclitic pronoun, like the Marāṭhī. Thus Bhojpuri has मारलो, मारलास, मारलास which correspond to the Mar. गेलों, गेलास.

In the other languages the simple past participle serves as base of the tense. Guj लीयुं, कीयुं, दीयुं-लब्ध, कृत, दत्त, गया-गअ-गत; Avadhī कीन्ह, दिये, मिली-कृत, दत्त, मिलित-मिलिअ. The Eastern Hindī differs from the others in adding to the participle the enclitic pronoun like the Bihārī and others.

(f) For the future the Mar. has a suffix न, ल which is added on to the old present forms. *e. g.* मी करीन, तू करशील, तो करील, तुझी कराल, ते करतील. आह्मी कहें is exactly like the old present. It seems that the old present did the function of the

future also, but in order to avoid confusion a suffix was added to distinguish between the two. The Bengali and Oṛiyā have taken the help of the potential participle in तव्य, which when combined with the preceding root lost the medial त and gave by assimilation a व्व, व्व, *e. g.* Bengali करिव, करिवे, करिवेन्, Oṛiyā देखिवि, देखिवु, देखिव, Bihārī देखव, देखवह् etc. The Eastern Hindī is true to its character viz. of being a half Māgadhī idiom, and therefore shows forms like देखवूं, करवूं, देखवस and देखे, देखिहै side by side. The Braj. and the Panjābī have a future in गा, *e. g.* कहंगा, बोलूंगा, and the Sindhi in दा. These are generally added to the forms of the old present. This गा and दा are supposed to be participles<sup>1</sup> of the past of roots गम् and दा.

(g) There are participles present, past and potential; *e. g.* Mar. करित, थावत, Guj. करत, Beng. करित, देखित, Hindī करता, Or. करन्त and S. मारीदे। The last two only have preserved the nasal. Past part. are the same as in the Prākṛits. H. गया, दिया, Guj. लीधुं. The Mar. has added one more ल to the past part. in order to distinguish it from the past tense; घेतलेलें, and केलेलें. Mar. करावें, Guj. करवुं, Braj. करवौं, S. करिवो are potential participles.

The absolute is formed in various ways according to the genesis of the language. Thus the Mar. has कहन, देऊन, Pr. काऊण, दाऊण; Guj. has करीने, लईने which are composite, either due to Apbh. एविणु or to Pr. इअ and ने enclitic. Hindī has देखि, सुनि, करि which are traceable to Pr. abs. इअ. करि is further shortened to कर and itself becomes a further abs. termination, *e. g.* सुनकर, जाकर; Oṛiyā has इ and Bengali इ, इया.

The Mar. only has preserved the infinitive of purpose. कहं, बोलूं are to be traced to Pr. करिउम् etc. from Sk. कर्तुम्.

1, Bhandarkar O. C. p. 271, Hoernle O. C. p. 357.

Verbal nouns are formed by various forms of अन which is both Sk. and Prākṛit. Mar. करणे, Hindī and Panj. करना, Sindhī करणु, Bengali and Oṛiyā करन. Gujarātī has a verbal noun in वुं-करवुं, देवुं, लेवुं.

(h) The causal is formed in Mar. by adding ईव, अव to root; करिवणे etc.; Guj. कराववुं, लगाववुं; Sindhī वाइणु, धोआइणु. Hindī has नचाना, पढाना, also पढवाना and दिलाना, दिलवाना; the two latter are evidently double causals. Beng. and Oṛiyā देखाइ etc. There are besides causals formed by strengthening the root vowel as in Sanskrit. मारणे, तोडणे, फोडणे-मरणे, तुटणे, फुटणे.

(g) The old passive is preserved only in Panjābī and Sindhī in forms like मारीए, मारीअव. This is from the Prākṛit इअ passive. There is also the ज passive in पीजणू. The old Marāṭhī shows a few old passive forms. Dnyāneśwari has सांगिजति, वधिजति, नाशिजैल, किजसी. Old Hindī also shows a few of them *e. g.* पूजियत्, चाहियत्. The modern Marāṭhī has a periphrastic passive *e. g.* दिलें जातें, घेतलें गेलें etc.

53. Beginning of the Vernaculars:—The oldest Marāṭhī literature available is the Dnyāneśwari and its date is Śaka 1212 i. e. A. D. 1290. Besides this there is inscriptional evidence also for the Marāṭhī. There is the Pātan<sup>1</sup> inscription of 1208 A. D. which contains some lines in Marāṭhī beginning with 'इयां पाटणीं जें केणें उघटे तेहाचा' etc. There is another inscription, older still, found at Parel.<sup>2</sup> This belongs to 1187 A. D. i. e. hundred years before the Dnyāneśwari. It contains only about three lines beginning with 'जो कोणि हुवि ए शासन लोपी तेच्या वेद्यनाथाची भाल सकुटुंबी आपडे' etc. This gives to the Marāṭhī a distinct un-Prākṛit form in

1. Epigraphia Indica Vol. II.

2. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R. A. S. 1876 p. 334.

the twelfth century A. D. We can therefore safely put the beginning of Marāṭhī a couple of centuries back. The attempt of certain people<sup>1</sup> to take Marāṭhī as far back as the 5th century is unsuccessful because it is not well grounded

The other vernaculars are less fortunate in this respect than their sister. Thus the oldest work in Avadhī Hindī is that of Tulasidas, a poet of the 16th century. The Braj however possesses a work, the Prithvīrāja Rasau of Chand Bardai, who lived towards the close of the twelfth century. This also points to the same conclusion, that the Hindī, at least the Western Hindī, had a definite form by that time. Its beginning therefore can be placed a couple of centuries earlier.

Since the Marāṭhī, the southernmost of all these vernaculars, is found in a distinct developed form so early, we presume that the others also must have developed about the same time. Early eleventh century, therefore, can be safely regarded as the beginning of the modern vernaculars.

It is necessary here to refer to Dr. Tessitori's remarks in this connection. Speaking of the time of the final detachment of old Western Rājasthānī from the Apabhraṃśa, he fixes it at the thirteenth century<sup>2</sup> or thereabouts. Old Western Rājasthānī is in plain words old Gujarātī. Tessitori is rather over cautious. The Mugdhāvabodhamauktika is the oldest work in Gujarātī and it was according to him written in 1394 A. D. and in the completely developed form of the language. The prior date is supplied by the Prākṛita-Pingala which, by-

1. Rājwāde, Dnyāneśwarī introduction.

2. Indian Antiquary, 1914 p. 24.

no means definitely, is assigned to say the 12th century. It is obvious that the work was written in Prākṛit by way of fashion or habit and can not be regarded as supplying the lower date of the Prākṛit. For aught we know, the language in which it is written might have been some five centuries older than its author. Thus even the modest estimate of Tessitori does not preclude our placing the beginnings of the vernaculars in the early eleventh century. The Nāgarī-pracārīṇī sabhā, it is said<sup>1</sup>, has discovered and published in its journal authentic documents in old Hindī belonging to the 10th century.




---

1. Prof. H. R. Divekar gave me this information orally. I have not yet got the original papers.



# INDEX.

*The numbers indicate pages.*

## A.

Abbinihita-Sandhi 131.

Ablaut, q. v. Vowel gradation.

Accent, cause of phonetic change 32, 44; in Indo-Germanic languages 7; pitch or musical 7; the svarita or circumflex; stress 7.

Achemenian Kings, their inscriptions 117.

Acoustic causes of phonetic change 32ff.

Adjectives, in Avesta 126; in modern vernaculars 245.

Adverbs formed later in linguistic growth 74.

Agglutinative languages 83ff.

Agglutinative-inflectional languages 84.

Agglutinative and inflectional languages, difference between 86ff.

Analogy, cause of phonetic change 31; cause of semantic change 63ff; influence in linguistic growth 58ff; influence in phonology 54; as a methodological principle 5.

Anaptyxis, 51ff; in Avesta 121ff.

Apabhramśa, position in the Prākṛit languages 190; Dandin's

view on 190; literature in 193; Pischel's view on 193ff.

Archæology, as aid to, Philology 104ff; and Philology, means of determining primitive civilization 106.

Ardhamāgadhī, a border language between Māgadhī and Śaurasenī, 192; literature in 192; where used 192.

Aryan group, languages belonging to 116.

Aryans, domestic life of the primitive 106ff; drink of the primitive 109ff; dwellings of 108ff; family life of 112ff; migrations of 100ff; migration into India 101; original home of 102ff; priesthood among 115; religion 114ff; revenge among 114; separation of Indian and Iranian 130; time-reckoning amongst the primitive 111ff; trade and industry of the primitive 110; tribes amongst the primitive 113ff.

Aśoka edicts, see under Edicts of Aśoka.

Assamese language, geographical limits of 231; sub-dialects in 231.

Assimilation, progressive and regressive 48ff.

Association, function and influence in linguistic growth 57ff.

Avadhī-Hindī Literature, beginning of 251.

Avesta, 117; adjectives in 126; anaptyxis in 121ff; conjugation in 127ff; consonant system in 122ff; diphthongs in 121; discovery of 116; epenthesis in 121; inflection in 124ff; numerals in 126; peculiar vowel in 119; phonology of 118ff; pronouns in 126ff; prothesis in 121ff; *Samprasāraṇa* in 121; sound phenomena in 121.

Avesta and Sanskrit, relation between 116ff, 118; similar verbal forms in 129ff; and Vedic language 131.

Ārṣa, q. v. Ardhamāgadhī.

## B.

Bantu Languages 2.

Bāngarū q. v. Hindī (Western).

Bengali Language, geographical limits of 229; two streams in modern 229-30; plural in 241.

Berārī element in Khandeśī 225.

Bhandarkar, on dat. suffix in Hindī etc. 242; refutation of the theory of artificial Sanskrit 135; on gen. suffix in Marāṭhī 30. Mar. Abl. 242; nominal construction 214; perfect in Pāli 161.

Bhīlī, 224; words in Khandeśī 225.

Bihārīlāl, his Satsai written in western Hindī 227.

Bihārī Language, geographical limits of 230; subdialects in 230.

Brāhui Language, isolated position of 18.

Braj Bhākhā, a dialect of Western Hindī, its geographical limits 227; beginning of literature 251; terminations in 241.

Brugmann, on importance of analogy 58.

Bundelī, a dialect of Western Hindī q. v.

## C.

Caldwell, view of the Dravidian origin of dat. termination 242.

Caṇḍa, date of 195.

Cases, fusion of 79ff; terminations in modern vernaculars 241ff; not all traceable to Apbh. or Prākritis 242ff.

Chand Bardai 251.

Characteristics of the Indo-Germanic languages 93ff.

Chinese and Semitic, relation between 87.

Chiplunkar, on Mar. gen. suffix 30, 244.

Civilization of the primitive Indo-Germanic people as disclosed by comparative philology and archæology 103ff.

Comparative Philology, and Archæology determining ancient civilization 103ff; aims and objects 1, 2; wider than descriptive grammar 2; wide scope 2; method 3; beginning of the science, name, meaning; Whitney on the aim and object of 3.

Comparison of different versions of the same edict of Aśoka; points of difference evinced by such comparison 180ff.

Conjugation, in Aśoka's edicts 188ff; in Avesta 127ff; in modern vernaculars 246ff; in Pāli 172ff; in the Prākritis 214ff; in Vedic 153ff.

Conjunctions, a later growth 74.

Conjuncts in modern vernaculars 239ff.

Consonant-system in Avesta 122ff.

Criteria of Indo-Germanic languages 90.

Cuneiform inscriptions, language of 117.

Cūlikāpaisācika 190.

Dandin, on the Gaudī 190; on the Lāṭī *ibid.*, 225; on the Māhārāṣṭrī as the best Prākṛit 190; on the Prākritis generally 190; on the Śaurasenī 190.

Darius, inscriptions of 116.

Deśī words, the non Aryan and the Dravidian element in 220ff; wrongly so called by Hemacandra 221.

Dialects, causes of differences in 16, 18; definition of 15; differences in 16 ff; differences recognised by Yāska 136ff; of the Indo-German language 20; Meillet-Prinz on 15; pointing to one common language 20; unifying elements in 18ff.

Diphthongs in Avesta 121.

Dissimilation, as a factor in phonetic change 50ff.

Distribution of modern vernaculars 224ff; 232ff.

Dnyāneśvarī, illustrating linguistic change 21ff.

Domestic life of the primitive Aryans 106ff.

Dravidian, element in Deśī Words 220ff; languages 2, numerals in 92; some characteristics of 88.

Drink of the primitive Aryans 109ff.

Dropping of consonants, as a cause of phonetic change 43.

Dwellings of the primitive Aryans 108ff.

Dual, wanting in the Pāli, the Prākritis and the Vernaculars 240.

## E.

Edicts of Aśoka, conjugation in 188ff; importance of *ibid.*; location of *ibid.*; language of *ibid.*; inflection in 186ff; the different versions of 180ff; phonology of 185ff; Sanskrit influence in 189.

Edicts, see under inscriptions.

Epenthesis in Avesta 121.

## F.

Families of languages, Bantu 2; Finish 2; South American 2; Hamitic 87; Dravidian 88; Indo-Germanic 89; Mongolian 2; Semitic 2, 87.

Family life of the primitive Aryans 112ff.

Franke, on home of Pāli 178.

First sound-shifting 36ff.

Future, new in the vernaculars 249; old preserved in a few forms 246.

## G.

Gāthā, Avesta 117ff.

Garhwālī, Himalayan dialect 232.

Gauḍī, Daṇḍin's view on 190.

Godbole Sastri, derivation of Marāṭhī genitive suffix 30, 244.

Grammar, Comparative q. v. Comparative Philology.

Greek, phonetical peculiarities of 98; vocalism compared with Sanskrit 41.

Grierson, on character of Khandeśī 224; on distribution of modern Vernaculars 233; on the so-called Outer Circle 233; on the Rājasthānī 226; on the Pīśācas and the Pīśācī 195.

Grimm's Law 36ff; q. v. First and Second sound-shifting.

Gujarat, constant streams of immigration into 225.

Gujarātī, constituent elements in 225; geographic limits of 225; want of dialectical variations in 225; literature, beginning of 251ff.

Guṇa as vowel gradation 47.

Gurjara immigration into India 225.

## H.

Hamitic and Semitic, relation between 87.

Haplology 52.

Hemacandra, Cūlikāpaśācika mentioned by 192; date 190; on Deśī words 221; right view in the fivefold classification of Prākṛits 196.

Himālayān languages 232; q. v. Garhwālī, Kumaonī, Nepālī.

Hindī (Eastern) group of dialects, their geographical distribution 227.

Hindī, Eastern and Western, relation between 227ff.

Hindī (Western), group of dialects, their geographical limits 226ff; their origin; literature in 227.

Hindī literature, beginning of 252.

Hoernle, on Dravidian origin of the Pīśācī 195; on distribution of modern Vernaculars 232; on past tense in Marāṭhī 25; on artificial Sanskrit 136; two Prākṛits 196.

Home of original Aryans 102ff; of the Pīśācī, according to Grierson 195ff; of the literary Pāli, according to Franke, Grierson, Müller, Windisch 171.

## I.

Imitation as cause of phonetic change 31.

Imperative mood is the only mood preserved in the vernaculars 247

Indian and Iranian Aryans, their language, their separation 130.

Indian languages, Pāli stage of 176.

- Indo-European languages, q. v.  
 Indo-Germanic languages.  
 Indo-Celtic, the proposed name for the Indo-Germanic languages 89.  
 Indo-Germanic, the name 89.  
 Indo-Germanic languages 2 ;  
 accent in 7 ; characteristics of 33ff ; criteria of 90 ; dialects of 20 ; the individual members 89 ; numerals in 91ff ; pronouns in 90ff ; relation between different groups of 95 ff, 97 ;—and Semitic languages, relation between 86ff.  
 Indo-Iranian group of languages 116ff.  
 Industry primitive q. v. Trade.  
 Infinitive of purpose, old, preserved only in Marāṭhī 249.  
 Inflection, in Aśoka's Inscriptions 186ff ; in Avesta 124 ; in modern Marāṭhī 81 ; in modern vernaculars 82, 240ff ; in Pāli 169ff ; in the Prākritis 205ff ; in the Vedic language 149ff.  
 Inflectional languages 85 ; difference between them and Agglutinative languages 86.  
 Inner Circle of modern vernaculars according to Grierson 233.  
 Inscriptional Prākritis 178 ; source of literary Prākritis 191 ff.  
 Inscriptions, of Achemenian kings 117 ; of Aśoka 178ff ; cuneiform 117 ; of King Darius *ibid* ; their language *ibid* ; old Marāṭhī 250 ; of Sassanian Kings 117.  
 Iranian languages 116 ; different classes of *ibid* ; their relation to each other *ibid* ; discovery of *ibid* ; dialects of 116.  
 Iranian and Indian Aryans, their languages 130 ; their separation *ibid*.  
 Jaina literature, in the Ardhamāgadhī 192.  
 Jaipūrī, a dialect of Old Western Rājasthānī 226 ; q.v. Gujarātī.  
 Japhetic, proposed name for the Indo-Germanic languages 86.
- K
- Khaṇḍagiri, inscription of 167 ; its value in determining the Home of the literary Pāli *ibid*.  
 Khāndeśī, Berārī element in 224 how formed 224 ; geographical influences in 225.  
 Kāshmīrī language, two streams in 232.  
 Khassi language, examples of numerals and pronouns in 92.  
 Khasās mentioned along with Piśācās q. v.  
 Lahndā language, its dialects 23 ; its geographical limits *ibid* ; same as Mooltānī 226 ; but different from the Panjābī *ibid* ; where spoken *ibid*.  
 Language, acquisition of 9 ff, 14 ; causes of differences in 16 to 18 ; constant change in 14, 15 ; discovery of Iranian 116 ; function of 4 ; groups of 1-2 ; influence of analogy in the growth of 58 ff ; of Indian and Iranian Aryans 130 ; influence of association in 58 ; later elements in 74 ; onomatopoeia in 12-13 ; origin of 10, 11 ;



- thought-element more important in 5; its twofold aspect 4; what it means 3.
- Languages, agglutinative 83 ff; of the Aryan group 116; of the Indo-Iranian group 116 ff.
- Lāta, old name of Gujarat 225.
- Lātī language, Daṇḍi's view on 190; mentioned by Daṇḍin 225.
- Latin, phonetic peculiarities of 98.
- Lefèvre origin of language 10, 11.
- Leṇa dialect, a misnomer 180.
- Leskien, phonetic laws brook no exceptions 54.
- Linguistic change, illustrated from old Marāṭhī of Dnyāneśvarī 21, q. v. phonetic change.
- Literary Prākṛits, q. v. Prākṛits literary.
- Location of modern vernaculars 224 ff; of the Prākṛits 194.
- Maithilī, a dialect of Eastern Hindī 232; terminations in 241, 243.
- Marāṭhī, constituent elements 224-25; dative wrongly derived from Persian 242; geographical limits of 224-225; phonology of *ibid*; subdialects of *ibid*; inflection in 81; old literature in 250 ff; oldest inscriptional 250 ff; relation to languages of Inner and Outer Circles 233 ff;—and other vernaculars, not derived from Pāli 223.
- Māgadhi, closer relation with Paisācī 199; some peculiarities 192; where used *ibid*.
- Māhārāṣṭrī, Daṇḍin's view on 190; literature in 192 ff; location of 194; position in the Prākṛits of 192 ff.
- Mālvī dialects of Old Western Rājasthānī q. v. Gujarātī.
- Mārwarī language a Saurasena dialect 194.
- Meillet-Prinz, on dialects 15; on unifying elements in dialects 18.
- Meringer, on physical processes in utterance 6.
- Metathesis 52.
- Mewātī, dialect of Old Western Rājasthānī q. v. Gujarātī.
- Mid-European peoples, migration of 101 ff.
- Migrations, of the Aryans 100 ff of the Aryans into India 101; of the Mid-European peoples 101 ff.
- Modern vernaculars, adjectives in 245, beginning of literature in 250 ff; case terminations in 241 ff; conjugation in 246 ff; conjuncts in 239 ff; distribution into groups of 242; distribution and location of 224 ff; no dual in 240; growth from the different Prākṛit Apabhraṃśas 223; inflection in 240 ff; mutual relation of 232; not derived immediately from Pāli 223; phonology of 235 ff; pronouns in 245 ff.
- Mongolian languages 2.
- Mooltani language q. v. Lahndā.
- Mugdhāvabodhamauktika, oldest work in Gujarātī 351.

Müller E. agrees with Oldenberg-  
in believing Kalinga to have  
been the Home of the literary  
Pāli 177.

Musical accent 7.

## N.

Non-Aryan element in Deśi words  
220ff.

Numerals, in Avesta 126 ; in Dravi-  
dian languages compared 92 ; in  
different Indo-Germanic lan-  
guages compared 91ff ; in the  
Prākritis 213ff.

Oertel on the importance of  
social imitation in language 56 ;  
on the thought process in  
uttering words 4.

Oldenberg, on Kalinga as the  
Home of the literary Pāli 177.

Onomatopœia in the formation of  
language 12, 13.

Oṛiya language, geographical  
limits of 229.

Outer Circle of Indian vernaculars,  
Grierson's view on 233.

## P.

Pahlavī language 117.

Paiśāci, Grierson's view on 196 ;  
Daṇḍi calls it Bhūtabhāṣā 192 ;  
Hoernle's Dravidian origin  
theory incorrect 195 ; home of  
195ff ; where used 192.

Palatal law in Sanskrit 42.

Pāli, coeval with Vedic dialects  
148 ; conjugation in 172ff ; no  
dual in 240 ; home of 171 ; in-  
flexion in 196ff ;—and Modern  
Vernaculars, no direct relation  
between 223 ; nearer to old  
Sanskrit 176 ; origin of 177ff ; pho-  
nology of 165ff ; position in the  
development of Indian languages  
160ff ; Pāli Stage 176 ; Sanskrit  
and Prākrit 161ff, 163ff.

Pāli and Vedic Sanskrit 160ff.

Panjābī Language, geographical  
limits of 226.

Passive, new 250 ; old, preserved  
in some vernaculars only 250.

Past tense in the vernaculars  
formed from the past participle  
248.

Paul on the acquisition of lan-  
guage 14 ; on constant change  
in language 14-15.

Perfect tense, not found in Pāli  
161, 173 ; in the Veda and Brāh-  
maṇas 133.

Philology, Comparative q. v. Philo-  
logy. Archæology as aid to  
104ff ; and Archæology as means  
to determining primitive civili-  
zation 106.

Phonetic changes, not absolute  
53ff ; acoustic causes of 32ff ;  
anaptyxis 52 ; assimilation 48 ;  
causes of 21, 31ff ; 54 to 57 ;  
caused by accent 32, 44 ; caused by  
analogy 31 ; by dropping of  
consonants 43 ; by imitation

- 31; by quality 53; by rhythm 53; conditional and unconditional 43; dissimilation 50 ff; haplology 52; metathesis 52; influence of syllables 48; syncope 52; observed by Yāska and others 53; physiological causes of 32ff; of vowels 38ff.
- Phonetic law, 35ff; definition of 34; first sound-shifting 36ff; second sound-shifting 37ff; palatal law in Sanskrit 42; quantity law in the Prākritis 53; Verner's law 38ff.
- Phonetical peculiarities of Greek and Latin 98.
- Phonetics of Pāli, Prākrit and Sanskrit 161ff.
- Phonology, of Aśoka Edicts 185ff; of the Avesta 118ff; influence of analogy in 54; of the Marāṭhī and its sub-dialects 224ff; of the modern vernaculars 235ff; of the Pāli, compared with that of Sanskrit 165ff; of the Prākritis 196ff; of Vedic Sanskrit 137.
- Physiological, causes of phonetic change 32ff; processes in uttering a sound 5-7.
- Piśācas, mentioned in Mahābhārata 194; their Home according to Grierson 194.
- Pischel, on Apabhraṃśa 193ff; on Saṃdhi consonants in Prākritis 204; does not recognise active past participles 218.
- Pitch accent=musical accent 7.
- Plural formed by adding words meaning 'many, people' etc. in Bengali and Hindī 241.
- Porzezinski—Boehme, on the function of language 4.
- Prākritis, in older stage coeval with Vedic dialects 148; conjugation in 214ff; consonant system in 143ff; Daṇḍin's view on 190; Deśī words in 220ff; as development of the Inscriptional dialects 191ff; no dual in 204; inflection in 205ff; inscriptional 178ff; inscriptional P. displaced by Sanskrit 179; later than Pāli 176; original simple vowels preserved in 42ff; their mutual relation 195ff; views of Prākrit Grammarians on *ibid*; languages included under the name 190; origin of 190ff; literature embodied in 192; location and distribution of 194; Māhārāṣṭrī, the richest in point of literature 192ff; numerals in 213; period of literary 221ff; phonology of 196ff; pronouns in 211ff; phonetic differences between them and the Pāli and Sanskrit 161ff; Tadbhava and Tatsama words in 220.
- Prākritisms in Vedic Sanskrit 148ff.
- Prākritapingala, date of 251-52.
- Prepositions a later growth 74.
- Present tense, old, preserved in the modern vernaculars 246.
- Priesthood among primitive Arayans 115.
- Pronouns, in Avesta 126ff; in the Indo-German languages 93ff;

in the Khassī, an agglutinative language 92; in the modern vernaculars 245ff; in the Prākritis 211ff.

Prose, Vedic 133.

P'rothesis in Avesta 121ff.

Psychical processes involved in uttering a sound 7-8.

## Q.

Quantity, as cause of phonetic change 53;—law for Prākritis 198.

## R.

Rājasthānī group of languages, dialects included under it 226; q. v. Rājputānā dialects.

Rājwāde, on dual in Marāṭhī 240; on habitual present in Marāṭhī 24; on instr. sing. in Marāṭhī 30; wrong derivatidn of Mar. dat. 242.

Rājputānā dialects, geographical limits of 226. q. v. Rājasthānī.

Religion among primitive Aryans 114ff.

Relation, between different groups of Indo-Germanic languages 95ff, 97; between the different modern vernaculars 232.

Revenge among primitive Aryans 114.

Rhythm as cause of phonetic change 53.

## S.

Samprasāraṇa, in Avesta 121; as a form of vowel gradation 46ff.

Sanskrit, Avesta closely related to 116ff, 118;—and Avestic verbal forms 129ff; classical, whether artificial 135ff, its development 134; consonant system in 143ff; influence in Edicts of Aśoka 189; inscriptional Prākritic displaced by 179; loss of Indo-Germanic vowels in 130, 131; Pāli stands closer but is not directly traceable to Vedic 160ff; Vedic and classical, difference between 136; Vedic and the Indg. languages 130ff; vowel gradation in 140. Sassanian Kings, their inscriptions 117.

Saurasenī, Daṇḍin's view on 190; language where used 192.

Schwa Indo-Germanicum 119.

Science of Language q. v. Comparative Philology.

Second Sound-Shifting q. v. Grimm's law 37ff.

Semantic change caused by Analogy 63ff.

Semitic languages, 2; relation to Hamitic and Chinese 87; relation between them and Indo-Germanic 86ff.

Semantics 5.

Separation of Iranian and Indian Aryans, and their languages 130.

Sindhī language, geographical limits of 231; subdialects in *ibid*

Sounds, phenomena peculiar to Avesta 121; physiological processes in uttering 5-7; psychical process in uttering 7-8.

South American languages 2.



Stress accent 7.

Svarabhakti = Anaptyxis, q. v.

Svarita or Circumflex 7.

Syncope 52.

Syntax, definition and scope of 73ff; growth of different parts of speech in 74; later elements in 74.

## T.

Tad-bhava and Tat-sama words in the Prākritis 220.

Tessitori, on Old Western Rājasthānī 226; on age of old Gujarātī 251.

Thought, the different means of communicating 3;—process in uttering words 4.

Time-reckoning of primitive Aryans 111ff.

Tokharians 94.

Tokharian language 89, 94; its characteristics 99.

Trade and Industry of the primitive Aryans 110.

Tribes among the primitive Aryans 113ff.

Tukhārāh, a people = Tokharians, mentioned in Mahābhārata 94.

Tulsidasa 251.

Turkish language, an agglutination one 84; formation of the verb in 86.

## U.

Ujjayinī, the Home of literary Pāli according to Franke 177.

Unifying elements in dialects 18ff.

## V.

Vararuci, does not recognise Apabhraṃśa as a separate Prākrit

190; oldest Prākrit Grammarian 189, 195; probably the same as Kātyāyana Vārttikakāra 195. Vedic language, 150ff;—and Avestic language 131;—and classical Sanskrit, distinction between the two recognised by Yāska 136; conjugation in 153ff; inflection in 149ff; its difference from later languages 13; and the original Indo-Germanic language 130ff; phonology of 137; Prākritis in 148ff; prose of 133;—and the Pāli 160ff; successive stages in 131ff;

Verbal forms, Avestic and Sanskrit, compared, 129ff.

Verkehr, cause of change 54.

Vernaculars (Indian), see under modern Indian Vernaculars.

Verner's Law 38ff.

Vowel gradation explained and illustrated 44ff; in Sanskrit 140.

Vṛiddhi phenomenon 44ff; as vowel gradation 47.

## W.

Wackernagel, on Sanskrit as Hochsprache 136.

Webers' view of artificial Sanskrit refuted 136.

Whitney, on the acquisition of language 9; on the aim and object of Comparative Philology 3; on onomatopœia in the formation of language 12, 13.

## Y.

Yāska, on dialectal differences 130ff; on difference between Vedic and later Sanskrit 135; observations on phonetic change 53.



## CORRECTIONS.

---

- P. 5, l. 3 from bottom for *lung* read *lungs*.  
 „ 6, l. 4 from bottom read *language*.<sup>1</sup>  
 „ 7, l. 11 for ऋ. read ॠ.  
 „ 10, l. 6 from bottom read *Lefèvre*.  
 „ 11, l. 2 end read *of*.  
 „ 14, F. N. 2 add *Paul* before O. C. 1.  
 „ 16, l. 12 from bottom for रद्दा read रद्धा.  
 „ 19, l. 8 for *frere* read *frère* and *confrère*.  
 „ 21, l. 14 for *can't* read *can not*.  
 „ 23, l. 8 from bottom read बट्टेहि.  
 „ 30, l. 11 for *g* read *j*.  
 „ 32, l. 13 for *frere* read *frère*.  
 „ 46, l. 4 from bottom read संप्रसारणः.  
 „ 53, l. 7 read वर्णोपजनः.  
 „ 59, l. 2 from bottom read ऋतस्पतिः.  
 „ 75, foot note 2, read *Semantics*.  
 „ 76, l. 6 from bottom read *fledged*.  
 „ 77, l. 12 read *διδάμι*.  
 „ 78, l. 20 read *lost*.  
 „ 79, l. 17 *it* read *its*.  
 „ 92, l. 10 under Kanarese for *pattu* read *patu*.  
 „ 93, l. 5 after *vowels* read *ē*.  
 „ 100, section 26, l. 6 read *historical*.  
 „ 103, l. 19 for *Northwest* read *Northeast*.  
 „ 107, l. 12 for *poession* read *possession*.  
 „ 120, after (B) for *Quantity* read *Quality*.  
 „ 120, l. 19 for *bouble* read *double*.  
 „ 133, l. 8 bottom for *containted* read *contain*.  
 „ 136, l. 10 from bottom read अन्वध्यायम्.  
 „ „ l. 1 read *find*.  
 „ 138, l. 2 in 3 read *κλυτός*.  
 „ 140, l. 22 for उणवाम read ऊणवाम.  
 „ 142, l. 12 for *υενέτωρ* read *γενέτωρ*.  
 „ 148, l. 15 read *Pāli* and *Prākṛit*.  
 „ 158, l. 4 from bottom, for *φορομεν* read *φερομεν*.

- P. 160, l. 9 for *form* read *from*.  
 „ 167, l. 5 from bottom for दंष्ट्रा read दंष्ट्रा.  
 „ 192, l. 9 for विंसु read विंसु.  
 „ 195, l. 12 read *Vararuci*.  
 „ 199, (c) add *apparent* before *cause*.  
 „ 202, l. 6 for षट्पद read षट्पद.  
 „ 214, l. 13 for *terminations* read *terminations*.  
 „ 221, l. 6 for *but* read *put*.  
 „ „ l. 23 for *non-indoaryan* read *non-Indoaryan*.  
 „ 222, l. 17 for *Calukya* read *Cālukya*.  
 „ „ l. 18 for *Sake* read *Śake*.  
 „ 225, l. 18 for *Dvāraka* read *Dvārakā*.  
 „ 234, l. 12 from bottom read *infinit*.  
 „ 236, l. 16 read मोतीं.

THE LIBRARY  
 OF THE  
 UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS